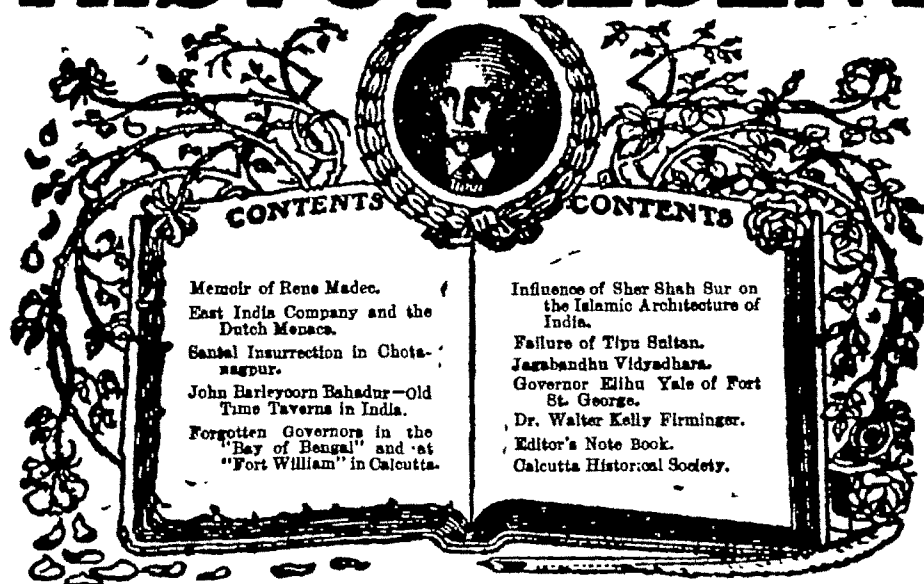




BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



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John Barleycorn Bahadur—Old
Time Taverns in India.
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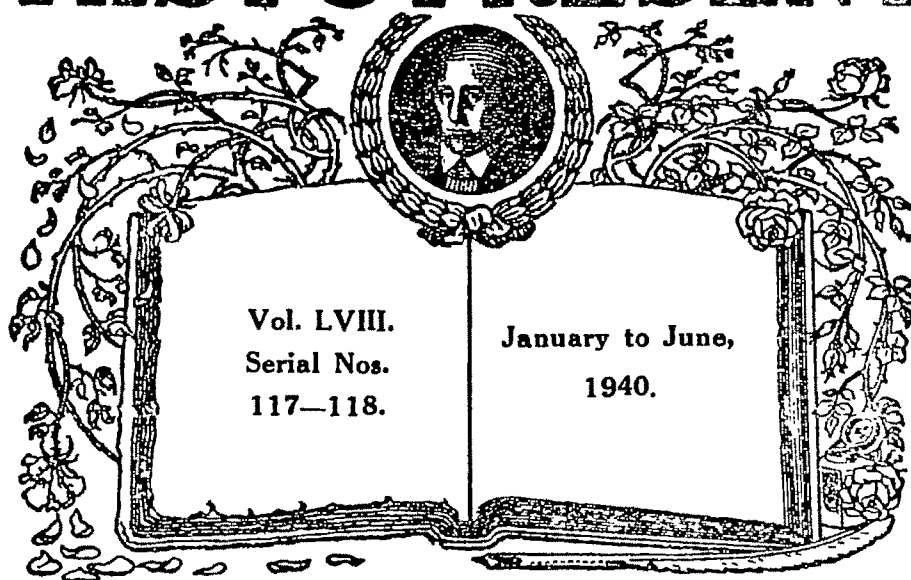
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Memoir of Rene Madec.

(Bib. Nat. Nouvelles acquisitions, francais 9. 368)

IV

[The first three sections of the autobiography of the French military adventurer, Nabab Rene Madec, subsequent to the battle of Buxar (1764), as translated by me, have been printed in this journal, 1936 (Oct. pp. 60-66 of No. 104), 1937 (Apr., pp. 69-80 of No. 106) and 1938 (Jan-June, pp. 1-10 of No. 109.) The concluding section is given below ; it stops with his final departure from Northern India, in order to assist in the defence of Pondicherry from the English attack in 1778. Madec had been driven out of the service of Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, a second time in May 1774, by the pressure of the English authorities of Calcutta, but Shuja had very kindly recommended him to his kinsman Mirza Najaf Khan, who was then the Bakhshi-ul-mamalik or Chief Commander of the Emperor of Delhi.—*J. Sarkar.*]

[Page 52] I arrived there [*i.e.*, at Delhi, on 1 June 1774,] after making twelve marches. Shuja had taken the care to announce me beforehand ; I was very well received there, and the more so as I had already served that Chief. It was now the rainy season ; I went into cantonments and occupied myself in drilling my recruits, whom I had been obliged to enlist after my last campaigns which had reduced my force, with a view to putting myself in a condition to appear on the field of battle again. Because, such is the life that one always leads in this country, where one cannot live without entering on campaigns every year, as otherwise his troops would die of starvation and the farmers would not pay the revenue unless they are asked with the sword in hand. There now remained with me only three battalions of a thousand men each, who had rejoined me with my European officers, who were most attached to me, 500 Mughal cavalry and ten cannon of brass, two thousand matchlocks, fifty others of my old artillerymen with 200 sepoy for guarding them, and a hundred men as my bodyguard ; finally, forty camels and some carriages, also some small cannon called *épingards* [*shutarnals* or *zamburaks*?] borne on camels, and sappers and other labourers necessary for my small troop. I had no elephant since the loss sustained in my last campaign for the Emperor [*i.e.*, in the battle before the walls of Delhi on 17 Dec. 1772.]

The prince, being greatly embarrassed in his finances, as he could not pay me he could not assure me of the maintenance of my troops ; so he ceded to me in full proprietorship some small districts with orders to subdue

them in his name, with the most extensive powers to that effect. My forces being known, I had not much difficulty in obtaining in two months the submission of these districts of which the chief place was Bāri. There I established my house, my family and my veterans. It was during the season of the first harvest. Having received wherewith to pay my troops whose number I had greatly increased, I departed for making my junction with the army of the Emperor, after leaving there land-stewards and a sufficient number of old soldiers for supporting the inhabitants when necessary and for drilling the recruits.

The General, Najaf Khan, waited for me with impatience and sent to me messenger after messenger to urge me to come. The two armies, of very nearly the same strength, were present. My place was always in the vanguard. As soon as I arrived fighting on a small scale commenced.

We took some small forts and many times we fought in the plain ; we reduced the Jats to the necessity of remaining encamped under the walls of their capital.

My camp was 30 to 35 leagues from my districts ; the Emperor had granted still other concessions [*i.e.*, *jagirs*] for my well-being and that of my troops. These favours raised enemies against me, among whom the Jats were the most furious and the least concealed. They had information that I had not many troops left with me. The Rajah of the Jats decided to send men to attack my invalids and injure my interests by distressing my districts. Being encamped at the foot of their capital, which was fortified, they could skilfully withdraw troops from it without our perceiving it. However, I learnt that they had departed by forced marches for my districts. I sent word to the General [Najaf Khan] and warned him that I could not help going with my camp to defend them. He tried at first to turn me aside from this resolve, but I made him admit that if the success of the enemy deprived me of the means of feeding my troops, I should cease to be their master, as the Emperor was not able to put me in a position to pay my men except by means of these land grants. He then gave me leave and promised to send some battalions of sepoys to my aid.

I took five days in arriving there in a beating rain ; I assembled the troops within my reach ; I waited for the rest and for the troops of the [Mughal] general, who never came.

I had only four [square] leagues of my territory occupied by the enemy, —happily it was not on the side of Bāri, where my family lived. They had no doubt that the extreme fatigue of a forced march in such a rough season would not leave us our ordinary ardour for battle, and having been informed by their spies of the poor condition of my troops and my bad position, resting upon a river, they departed at night in order to surprise me at day-break [29 July, 1775]. However, I had the time to sound the alarm, when a horseman from my advanced posts came to inform me of their approach. They did not give me time to take up a better position, and firing began on both sides, in spite of our being in the mud up to our knees, which paralysed the manœuvre of my cannon, of which I lost many.

These circumstances discouraged my infantry ; they did not reply [to the enemy's fire] and made ready to flee, which had never happened to them before when I have led them against far superior forces most successfully, (e.g.,) against the coalition that attacked Delhi and while I was serving the Jats.

My forces would have been sufficient, if discouragement had not seized my Indian troops, who were as conquered, at least by their superstitions, because I have always proved that they are not wanting in courage.

The enemy having then perceived my men's hesitation in the manoeuvres and the firing, I hazarded a charge of a party of my cavalry on them, which shook them in their turn. I wished to profit by that first terror and continue to charge them in person with the rest of my cavaliers, but I heard a cry that no one was following me. However, I was already launched on the charge with the small number that surrounded me and helped me to disengage myself ; and we briskly posted ourselves at about a hundred paces towards a hamlet where I had left four cannon and a battalion for guarding my property, which were plundered when they were able to force us to retreat, [thus] abandoning to them the most agreeable and most productive part of my districts, which were desired the most. There were about 4,000 men killed and wounded on the two sides taken together and I received three wounds on my person which I could dress only at night.

During the enemy's pillage of my property I was able to form as well as I could, two columns with the rest of my troops, of which one was directed to Bāri and the other to Agra where I had my arsenals.

I there cast ten new cannon, two of 12 lb. and eight of 9 lb., besides one howitzer. I took in new recruits and bought back from the peasants and the Jews [=pedlers?] the property of my camp which had been sold to them, and at the end of two months I rejoined the army of the Emperor, which was lying encamped before the walls of the capital of the Jat Rajah [Dig.]* [Najaf] continued to harass the fort without having the power to capture it. I was made to encamp within cannon range [of the walls], and he commenced to place some batteries, to dig trenches and to fire vigorously on the place, which with its external gardens and suburbs had more than three leagues of circumference, with very high and wide ramparts, where they could easily revolve their cannon, numbering two to three hundred, of which many were of a large size. But as the walls were of clay, our bullets sank into them instead of making breaches by which we could have delivered assaults.

They made many useless sorties in order to be able to procure provisions ; we bombarded them more and more, and our cavalry roamed with such activity for investing them that they were forced to send the inhabitants outside, to the number of more than 150 thousand, who issued by tens of

* A full account of this siege of Dig, from the manuscript journal of the Comte de Modave, has been translated and published by me in this journal, April 1936 (No. 102), pp. 114 et seq.

thousands in order to avoid being starved to death so that that place which contained three hundred thousand surrendered to the army of the Emperor. [Dig fe

The imperial general [Najaf Khan] established a number of troops necessary for supporting his position the army to camp in the fine territories around which and most productive in the country. Its revenue is a hundred millions.

This war having ended advantageously, I took leave after in order to go to my district of Bāri to revisit and pay my troops as soon as I could collect money there pass in winter quarters the season of the rain

During that time I went [to Delhi] from time to time and the generals, and cause myself to be present there were so many persons interested in keeping that that I was able to obtain only two audiences,—a audience able to make him embrace the views of France. I was not admitted to the honour of seeing him except in his Court.

During that rainy season I made my plans for Pondicherry. It was not without much difficulty that I did not wish to grant me the permission, and nobles were going out of this country with a fortune. I was present and went away.

I was strongly tied to the Rajah of Gohad. He had promised me that whenever I should wish to go to him and he would procure for me the means of going to him. I found him still of the same disposition and preparations for departure . . .

The army of the Emperor was far distant from the corps, about 10,000 men, posted at a short distance

All was ready ; I departed in the evening and the next day. About three o'clock in the afternoon troops, whom I had made to believe that I was going, they saw the route which I had taken, had no doubt. They murmured in a low tone, as money was very much attached to me and I gave them much more than not a word and I continued my route. After some marching I arrived in the territory of Gohad. There at my march and all the people regretted me.

The Rajah was out on campaign. I wrote to the horsemen to me, whom I met on the way and with the Rajah came up to me, and did me a thousand friends together.

The Maratha army which was not distant, made me many offers but I did not accept any. It was not without reason, because they dreaded my junction with the Rajah on whom they had come to wage war. They had previously entered his country and obliged him to pay large sums of money ; and yet his country would have been [now] ravaged [by them.]

I took three days in making my preparations, in sending back the heavy baggage to his capital and all the families, after which we marched towards the Maratha army, which was only twenty leagues distant from us. We soon approached them and there were many petty encounters between us, with the advantage always on our side. We had also a small battle in which we took 5 pieces of cannon, 2 elephants and much baggage from them.

After this action, they did not show themselves any more except at a distance. We continued to pursue them up to their districts, where we took two [forts] and put in garrisons, after which we retired to our own frontiers. During seven months we made this journey. At the end of that period they showed an appearance of desiring peace and entering into terms of agreement with us. We asked for nothing more ; in a short time the affair was terminated. We restored to them a great portion of what we had taken from them. The two parties feasted each other, after which they separated, and we marched back [to Gohad.]

The Rajah faithfully kept his promise of helping me to retire. I departed at the beginning of May 1777, and after travelling for nearly nine months arrived at Pondicherry on 14th February, 1778.

[For the details of the defence of Pondicherry, see *Le Nabab Rene Madec* par Emile Barbé, 1894.]

JADUNATH SARKAR.

The East India Company and the Dutch menace (1654—61).

THE relationship between the Dutch and English in the East continued to be as bitter as ever even after the conclusion of the first Dutch Disputes regarding the fulfilment of the Dutch promise to pay £85,000. The English Company immediately came into being, and were reinforced by the Dutch, concerning the cession of Pulu Run. The Dutch did not certainly relinquish their idea of letting the English into their monopoly of the trade in clove, but allowing them take this otherwise unimportant islands, and therefore with some difficulty after difficulty in way of the surrender. Moreover the Dutch declared war on Bantam, and claimed that the English ships must not enter Bantam during the continuance of the fight and blockade. The Dutch notified the English that soon the English ships would be precluded from Macassar, Achin and Palembang. Dutch privateers became active. Throughout the period the feeling prevailed in England that the unscrupulous Dutch were bent on ousting English commerce from the East, and had grown into a national enemy. Rumours as to swelling Dutch armaments, and fear of the acquisition of all Portuguese possessions by the Dutch rendered the atmosphere still more hostile than before.

The English Company feared in 1659 that "the Dutch pretending injuries from the Mogull" might even block up Swally and deprive the English of trade".

The Dutch on the other hand argued that the temporary Cromwellian experiment of leaving the Eastern Trade open was flooding their European markets and depressing the shares of the V.O.C. "This very policy sunk the actions of the Dutch . . . Company". But in 1657, the new Charter came in. The attempts made to seize Dutch ships in English harbours again annoyed the Hollanders. The threatened participation of Cromwell in the Swedish war complicated matters. Moreover the Dutch failed to see any reason why the English could not have their claims against the Dutch decided in Dutch Courts. The assistance the English rendered to the Asiatic enemies of the aggressive Dutch furnished another cause of friction. In Europe Charles II came ultimately back to the throne of his fathers, and it was well known that all his sympathies were with Orange as against De Will. The Dutch had tried to make amends for Charles's forced departure from Holland by a lavish entertainment when the Restoration seemed certain. But mutual suspicion remained. The controversies about the North Sea Fisheries and the Navigation Act continued. The Parliament of May 1661 was determined not to repeat

Navigation regulations, and the English claimed free trade in the East, inspite of 'exclusive contracts' and immunity for their passes granted to Asiatic ships.

The Dutch became also nervous that about the possibility that the Restoration might easily annul any obligation the Interregnum might have incurred, provided it was profitable for itself to do so.

Revington who became the chief at Surat, addressed his first letter to the Company on 28th. January, 1657. He pointed out in that, "Wee are trampled on by the greatest enimies as well as envyers to our trade and nation, the Dutch." "Last yeare they took Zeloan". He believed that the Dutch would ultimately overthrow the Portuguese, and then the English were "not to expect at the best any trade here without paying them whatever custome they would "impose upon" the English. It seemed prudent for the Company to pay serious attention to the fact that the Dutch had already taken "townes and forts" so important as to threaten the "utter extirpation of" the company's "factories and trade" in Western India.

A reference is also made to the Gombroon customs in this connection. The Company, this letter explains, was granted "not only an exception of dutys" . . . "but the moiety of the customes of all goods and merchandise imported by the Dutch and other nations whatever into the port of Gumbroone, the place wither from Ormoos the mart was carried". This practice not only increased "the honnour of our nation" but, "produced in former yeares . . . 10 or 12,000 £ per annum". As regards Bantam, there is also a despairing note. "And for the Bantam remaines, wee hope to have an oppertunity whereby wee may sell them, or send them to their proper mart to bee sold." The *Endymion* sent to Bantam was refused entrance by the Dutch, and another attempt met with another rebuff and she had to sail back to England.

The Court record of 2nd. September, 1657, tells us that the pretext on which the *Endymion* was not allowed to go into Bantam road on the first occasion was that the Dutch were at war with the local population. On the second occasion, she was plainly told that she could go in if she could vanquish the Dutch fleet. Preparations were also made to plunder the pepper on the Cock. John Edwards who lived in the Archipelago for a long time, reported to the Company that the Dutch used to uproot the trees at Pulu Run, and also made plans to destroy the fort.

The "Collections . . . concerning several abuses and indignities put upon the English Nation by the Dutch" (of 1657) again are vociferous in its detailed account of English grievances. The restrictions imposed on the *Endymion's* voyage are repeated, and it is added that she had to return "with a considerable amount of dead freight". Similarly, the *Olive Branch* was not allowed to proceed to Bantam Sillebar or Indrapura, and the *Jonathan* to Bantam and Macassar. The Dutch are reported to have said, "If the English were stronger then they, they might go for Bantam but if they were stronger then the English they should not". They also attempted, it is alleged, to bribe King of Jambi into refusing the English permission to trade in pepper with that place. "These unwarrantable actions of the Dutch" brought "dishonour on the English nation", and "caused . . . losses and damages to the English

. . . . Company, and the several proprietors interested" in various ships, "some thousands of pounds." Attempts to corrupt the English employees were also made.

They probably also became by 1659 more friendly with "Merjumbelo" "the chiefe Generall of Oram Zeebe" (in Bengal) than the English. This was rather disconcerting, because, what Mfr. Jumla "saies is a law". "Therefore hee must be satisfied in some reasonable manner". Andrews wrote on 6th. April, 1660 that "Meir Jumla is . . . a friend to our false ones the Dutch, and urged by them to offerr abuses unto us". Halstead's letter of 3rd. June (1659) mentioned "a rumour of" "Merjumbelows offering the government of Heugly to the Dutch". But his letter of 13th. September 1660, says that "the Dutch had all their goods seized on a Dacka . . . and their persons grossly abused. At Heugley alsoe the second of the Dutch was imprisoned ten dayes, and narrowly saved his life."

We are told on 2nd May, 1659, that "the Dutch and we stand upon very tickleish termes . . . we charge them with breach of their articles . . . and for the same many of their ships have been taken by us, and we hold them soe by the nose that if we meet with any of their ships they are searched, and if we find any goods belonging to Spain, or goeing thither, or soe much as a Spanish writing, they seize on them and carry them for England".

The Remonstrance and Petition of the Company to the Council of Trade dated 11th. December, 1660 in course of sketching a History of East India trade, points out that "whilst the English were content to carry on the trade in a fair and just way with the consent of the natives, the Dutch coveting to engross it for themselves, unjustly seized many ships belonging to the English, disturbed them in their trade in divers places, drove them from their possessions in the Islands of Banda and inflicted many wrongs and injuries upon them . . . Neither of late years have the Dutch forborne their wonted violence., but they . . . disturbed the English in their commerce by sea and land" "(They) have seized their goods before Goa, assaulted and wounded their factors in their own houses at Jambi, and vilified them generally, as if they were but one degree above slaves". "All which impudent affronts to the honour of the English nation and horried injuries to the petitioners' stock and commerce" were more or less condoned by their government, "most of these states being interested in the Dutch East India Stock and sharers in the unjust advantages thus gained".

The document again refers to the transactions of Drake in the Moluccas which are evidently appealed to as precedents. "Wee intend very suddenly to present to our kings Majestie (who is now, by gods providence, returned and settled, in the Government of his Kingdomes)", says the Company, "a narration of those abuses which have binn put upon us by the Dutch, amongst which wee will insecrt their proceedings at Porto Nova, in frustrating you of the promised freight, by their threatening of those country people and confiscating of their goods".

Portuguese power was declining. A long letter from Swally Marine of 27th. January, 1644, for example, says, "the Portugalls are soe base and

beggerly that they will not at such cost meddle with such a comodity"—Cannary Wine which the English were trying to sell. This letter again alleges that the Dutch regarded the sale of wine at Batavia as their monopoly. Again on 20th. January, 1659, we are told that "the Portugalls begin to be verie poore both", at Goa "and all along the coast" because of the Dutch blockade "The Portugalls are very low" according to another letter already referred to. But "the Dutch, with their bribing the Governors of the country, get footing . . . more and more, having lately, . . . taken the castle of Quilone from the Portugalls, . . . and if there comes no Vice Roy this yeare from Portugall with shipping souldiers and ammunition, they will proceed a pace taking possession of their small houlds upon the Coast".

The farflung bazars established by the Dutch by this time enabled them to deal in Eastern products with Eastern countries. The English on the other hand had to rely to a large extent on money and goods imported from Europe. The capital of the Dutch was not small. Their shipping was large. They also held a fortified station at Pulicat north of Madras. Therefore when they began to compete with the English in North and South India the English could hardly help keep pace with them. Walderrave and Stevenson (for example) writing to the Company from Balasore on 28th. December, 1654 says, "Because wee have not supplies to second our reports to these people nor any business that may be thought in the least proportionable to the great and vast trade of the Hollanders here, it hath caused us to be very suspiciously lookt upon in the opinion of these unbelieving people." "These places of Bengal and Eurixa sufficiently manifest that here is roome enough for the imployment of a very great stock, where although the Dutch invest at least £200,000 sterling yearly, and some years find lading for seven and eight ships of burthen, nevertheless your Worships, supplying this place with stock sufficient and honest men to manadg it, will soone find as great business and as much profit".

"The Dutch", again had "nine pattelloes: (=large boats) of petar with some 25 in 26,000 maunds which "had been at Pun Pun" "some 16 daies which" would "goe for Hugely their dustuckes being" probably "all ready".

The Dutch were undoubtedly supplanting the Portuguese as the serious rivals of the English towards the close of our period, and the effect of their rivalry became accentuated by the lack of adequate support to the Company from home and other causes.

This commercial rivalry led to quasi-privateerings.

Van Goen, the able and cruel Dutchman typical of what was best and worst in the Dutch agents of those days, justifies these attacks in a letter to the Directors written as early as 1615, thus:—

"If some daring thieves should night and day break into your Lordships' houses what measures would Your Lordships take to meet such fellows and defend your property, if not by using force against them? This is what the English do commit against Your Lordships' estate in the Moluccas, Amboina and Banda. Wherefore we are surprised that it is ordered not to use force against them. If the English have this privilege over nature and all creation,

then it is right good to be an Englishman, and true indeed the slander and the calumny which they spread among all princes against the Dutch".

The Directors themselves were certainly alive to the need of maintaining their trade monopoly. They had asked Pieter Both, as early as 1610, "to take all possible care that the trade of the Moluccas, Amboina and Banda therein included, should ever remain and be assured to the Company, so that no part of it should fall into the hands of any other nation in the world save to ourselves or to such as we should find good".

To illustrate. In 1657, *The Orange*, a very large vessel of 1,400 tons (1) and manned by 400 sailors met with the English ship, the *Society*, which was doubling the Cape on her way home from Masulipatam. Without (according to the Letter Book (2) any provocation she was attacked violently and soon was obliged to surrender. When the English skipper remonstrated, the Dutchman is reported to have pointed out that "might is right" was the maxim that governed all relationships on sea. In spite of all their protests the English were forced to continue their voyage in the derelict. They remained in danger of being washed away at any moment by the high seas.

At the same time, the English documents does not seem to mention that their cargo was plundered. The obvious reason was that the Dutch suspected the English ships of carrying Portuguese goods.

Complaint followed complaint in an unending succession. In August, 1656 (according to a report of a judge of the Admiralty Court and others) the *Endymion* was compelled to desist from trading with Bantam and even communicating with the English factory on shore, by a number of Dutch vessels. She was forced to move closer to the chief of the Dutch squadron, to impress on her Dutch "power and greatness". A large amount of dead freight and a damage of nearly £10,000 were suffered. Two years later a similar fate befell the *Mayflower*, desirous of trading with Achin, in spite of the fact that she was permitted to carry on commerce by the Queen of that locality. A number of bags containing pepper were looted from her longboat by the Dutch. When the *Marigold* was lying off Batavia, the English agent's "scrutoors and cabinetts" were taken away by the Dutch who gained from papers information which was used to the prejudice of English commercial interests. The damage came to nearly £12,000. By the end of 1658, the *Advice* and the *Dragon* were sought to be headed away from Bantam. The Dutch chief was approached. He declined to interfere on the ground that the Hollanders were fighting Bantam. The English pleaded that they could not possibly supply arms and ammunition to the natives because they did not have a surplus stock on board. Damage of more than £26,000 was sustained. Further, by buying up all the pepper from Jambi the Dutch prevented the *Dragon* from trading there subsequently. In the same way (in 1659) the *Smaritan Anne* and *Mayflower* were kept off from trade with Sumatra. A loss of about £37,500 resulted from the Dutch action. The *Merchants' Delight* again was forced to go away from Bantam, with damage

(1) According to the ideas of those days.

(2) Vol. ii, p. 36.

estimated at £13,587. On her way to Goa (in September 1659) the *Constantinople Merchant* led by her skipper Robert Browne, was stopped by a Dutch squadron, one of which—the *Dunburgh*—opened fire on her. She was obliged to strike sail. In attempting to get a better berth she weighed anchor. But she was fired upon again, and looted of her cargo of ammunition. A loss of more than £35,500 was inflicted on her.

At this time, riots on land also continue as frequently as ever. The same document says that an English establishment in Guinea was fired at and burnt down. In the Archipelago De Gayer and Class attacked with a following of nearly two hundred the Company's storehouse at Jambi, looted bullion and thrashed the Company's servants.

Qurrles Browne deposed on 18th. January, 1658 that the Dutch prevented the *Olive Branch* from voyaging to Bantam on the pretext that they were fighting the Javanese. She turned towards Sumatra and had to lie off Pulu Laugundy to avoid being seized by the Dutch.

The commercial loss was great, and her enforced stoppage at Mauritius was indirectly due to this Dutch action. On her way to Bantam a Dutch ship whom the *Blessing* approached in all friendliness shot at her off Mud Island, and the English ship had to flee from its neighbourhood. Two Dutch vessels sought to head her off from Bantam Road, but the native allies of the English prevented such a possibility.

The Council of State recorded on 12th. November, 1657 that the Government had been approached from many quarters to redress the grievances of those who had suffered in the hands of the Dutch in the East in respect of person and property. We may however notice that the same document records the seizure of the Dutch "*Sprew*" at Plymouth. She belonged to the Dutch East India fleet, and the warrant was issued by the Admiralty Court on the instance of the Company for damages amounting to £20,000.

The Company urged on by those interested in some of the ships captured by the Dutch approached the Protector in August, 1658 with a list of the wrongs which they had suffered from the Dutch and which rendered the commercial charter granted by Cromwell to them nugatory. Firstly, they had two years ago ordered the English to leave Bantam in six days' time. The *Endymion* and other private vessels had suffered great damage because of such action. Secondly, the efforts of Downing, the ambassador at the Hague, had not yet been able to patch up an agreement. Thirdly, they seized the *Postition*, *Frederick*, *Francis*, and *John* as they sailed out of Bantam with pepper. Lastly, the *Bantam Frigate* was pounced on at Indrapura and detained for several weeks. The Company had nothing to do directly with private ships. But the fear was entertained that the fate of their own vessels might be similar. The Protector was solicited "to own them and their cause".

Sir John Dethicke and others point out that the seizure of the *Bantam Frigate* could not be justified in any way, because there was no war of the Dutch with the ruler of Indrapura. The Council of State was petitioned to by them for righting Dutch wrongs. Damages suffered by the Company are again referred to in a document of October, 1661 and are said to have reached a total of about £250,000.

It must not however be lost sight of at this time that in addition to all these "horrid invasions and rapines" Dutch actions against the Portuguese were held by the Company to damage English Eastern trade, because a marriage of England's king with the Portuguese princess was being thought of.

Sir Richard Ford (who had been elected a committee) informed Sir Edward Nicholas on 31st. January, 1661, that the Dutch occupation of Goa and locality near it would enable them to dominate West Indian trade, the huge profits of which would again make it easy for them to aim at European domination. Attempts are made therefore by the Company to stop "their great and suddaine equippage" at Amsterdam. Charles himself told the Dutch envoys on one occasion that if their fleet acted against the Portuguese he would discontinue talks about an entente which were proceeding at that time. Pepys speaks about "some design against the Dutch, we think at Goa" and probably alludes to a proposed English naval demonstration in Eastern Waters in favour of the Portuguese by this time.

The Dutch Company on the other hand was convinced that they had every right to capture at least some of the English ships. "The directors of the (Dutch) East-Indy Company declared playnly that it were much better", writes Downing, to Thurloe, "to have a warre with England then to restore these ships, and are returned to Amsterdam in great rage". The English were accused of supplying artillerymen to the ruler of Bantam. They therefore argued that capture of English ships were justifiable. The Dutch are said to have asserted that "such barbarous nations out of Europe" who violated "the laws of Nations" . . . ought not to be dealt withall as these within". Then we must not forget that Cromwell had not been able to mitigate the rigours of the Navigation Act in favour of the Dutch in an appreciable way, and that he forced the shifty and selfish De Wit to exclude the House of Orange. Trade was the life blood of the Republic and any attempt to check its flow either directly or indirectly had to be overcome according to them with all promptness.

With a good deal of reluctance, the States General at last decided on the restoration of these vessels. But causes of dispute remained. The Dutch interpretation of international law was challenged on the grounds that their blockade was not effective, and that they possessed no ruling rights over the country in question. They had no right to dictate to the English "what allies they shall choose and how they shall traffique with the same".

In 1661, the English were accused in a Dutch letter of the charge that "the Hon. East India Company" . . . "doth renew and ripp open severallould sores and debates formerly enacted which have bine long buried".

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J. C. DE.

Santal insurrection in Chotanagpur.

IN an article on "*Original Records about the Santhal Insurrection of 1855*" (*Bengal, Past and Present*, July—September, 1934, pp. 32 ff.) Mr. Kalinkar Datta has referred to a letter which Mr. J. Allen, Commissioner of Chotanagpur, wrote on December 17, 1855 to William Gray, Esq., Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, exonerating the Ex-Amir, Meer Abbas Ali Khan, from all complicity in the Santal insurrection in Chotanagpur. A prisoner named Ranjit Manji accused the Meer of having countenanced a servant of his, named Urjoor. Manji, a Ramgarh Santal and one of the leaders in the Santal insurrection in Chotanagpur. The same letter is found in the records preserved in the record room of the Commissioner of Chotanagpur at Ranchi. In that letter Mr. W. J. Allen stated that he did not obtain any evidence to make him believe that the Meer had been guilty of any direct or indirect participation in the Santal insurrection. Mr. Allen wrote a letter on December 10, 1855 to Captain Sissmore, officiating Principal Assistant Commissioner, Hazaribagh, authorising him to offer a reward of Rs. 50/- for the apprehension of Urjoon Manjee who was charged with having been implicated in the Santal insurrection.

To get further information about Urjoon Manjee, a leader of the Santal disturbance in the district of Hazaribagh, I inspected the old records in the record room of the Deputy Commissioner of Hazaribagh during Christmas holidays of 1934. With the exception of a few letters to and from T. Tweedie, Deputy Magistrate at Burhee, and Captain E. Sissmore, the Principal Assistant Commissioner at Hazaribagh, the information obtained concerning the disturbance is meagre, as the records are very minor in importance consisting mainly of bills and vouchers, reports concerning jail, police, abkarry, and appointment, discharge, and transfer of officers high and low, etc.; in fact the records left are those which had at one time been recommended for destruction, but were later on preserved. The following account is compiled from the records preserved at Hazaribagh, Ranchi and Purulia.

The Senior Assistant Commissioner, Singbhum, stated in a letter dated July 21, 1855 that the Santals of his division were peaceable and industrious and were looked down upon by other tribes for their ignorance of the use of arms and patience under oppression, and he denied the report of their having joined the insurgents.

On the 26th of the same month the Principal Assistant Commissioner, Hazaribagh, reported that the Santals of his place were ignorant of what was going on in Rajmahal and Bhagalpore and were employed in cultivating their lands.



But the Principal Assistant Commissioner, Manbhum, wrote a letter to the Commissioner relative to the foundation of the rumour of Santals moving through Pachete. From his letters of the 3rd and 9th August, 1855 it appears that he knew that the Santals were ravaging and plundering the district of Beerbhoom and Midnapore.

In a letter dated the 28th September, 1855 written from Camp Telia Mr. Tweedie reported that the Raja of Palgurge had sent an Urzee to him saying that the Santals had been murdering people at Narainpore about 4 miles from Serampore.

In a letter dated the 13th November, 1855 he informed the Principal Assistant Commissioner, Hazaribagh, that "though there was no positive proof of the Santal population of this district being in communication with the insurgents of Beerbhoom and Bhagalpore, the general impression of the Zemindars and myself is that the whole Santal tribe are disaffected and only wait for an opportunity to join the rebels".

In a letter (no. 512) written from Camp Turai on the 21st January, 1856, the Commissioner, Chota Nagpore, informed Captain Edmund Sissmore, officiating Principal Assistant Commissioner, Hazaribagh Division, that he authorised him to disburse the reward of 58 rupees offered, with his sanction, for the apprehension of "Urjoon Manjie" to the person who was entitled to receive the same. The Commissioner requested Captain Sissmore to question Urjoon Manji regarding his supposed connection with the insurgent Sonthals of Bhagalpur and Beerbhoom. He annexed a copy of a deposition of Pirthee Sonthal taken before him at Hazaribagh in December last, and asked him to call upon Urjoon Manjie to explain the circumstances therein stated which seemed to indicate that he had been in communication with Seedoo Manjee and other rebellious Sonthals belonging to the Bhagalpore and Beerbhoom districts. He asked him to report the result of his examination of Urjoon Manjie and to detain him under surveillance till he received further orders from his office.

In a letter dated the 15th January, 1856 written from Camp Chyebassa to Captain E. Sissmore, Officiating Principal Assistant Commissioner, the Commissioner, Chotanagpur, approved of the measures Captain Sissmore had adopted towards the Sonthals in pergunahs Juggessure, Rampore, Singhpore and Tisna, who had been reported to have been manufacturing arms and otherwise showing indications of disaffection. The Commissioner, however, thought that there was probably much exaggeration in the statement of the petitioners. "If it be true that those Sonthals (i.e., in the Ramgurh hills) are making preparations to disturb the peace, you will have the goodness to proceed yourself with a military force sufficient to prevent the outbreak.

3rd. You are requested to institute very searching enquiry into the conduct of the Ameer's Dependant Hadjee Ishak, and he should not be permitted to return to the moffussil till he has thoroughly cleared himself of these imputations.

4th. Mohun Santal and Jayram Manjee should be immediately apprehended".

On the 28th January again the Commissioner wrote to Captain Sissmore asking him to watch closely and judiciously the proceedings of Sonthals located in the Ramgurh hills in order to obtain any early information, should any symptoms of disaffection appear among them.

In a letter dated February 25, 1856 Mr. Tweedie informed the Commissioner that the Sontals plundered Gandee, Chackerdar, Loodee and Doodear, all within his jurisdiction, and in a letter dated February 26 he reported of the march of Lt. James Commanding 44th Regiment, N.I., from Hazaribagh, two companies of which reached Burhee the following morning. On February 28, he requested that one company of Infantry might be posted at Khurrackdea and another at Eliapore.

In letter no. 790 dated the 3rd March, 1856 the Secretary to the Government of Bengal informed Captain Sissmore that he had received his message by Electric Telegraph regarding disturbances in the Khurrackdea pergunnah and informed him that the substance of his message had been communicated to the officers named in the margin (*viz.*, Brigadier L. S. Bird, Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner of the Santal Pergunnahs, and Joint Magistrate, Deoghur), and requested him to communicate with Brigadier Bird and the Deputy Commissioner of Santal Pergunnahs should he have reason to apprehend renewal of disturbance.

On the 3rd March Mr. Tweedie reported that Khurruckdea Pergunnah was perfectly quiet, the presence of the military force having awed all evil minded persons and the plunder had ceased.

In a letter dated March 6, 1856 Mr. H. Strainforth, Commissioner of Santal Pergunnahs, informed the Deputy Magistrate of Burhee that Santals were assembling at Beemband, northwest of Deoghar, they left Buckedooa (Bagodar?) in the vicinity of Palgunge and had gone in the direction of Beemband; at Satgawn and Chuppadee houses of two Mahajans were plundered by the party of Lucka Thakoorai and Soobal of Beerbhoom district aided by the Santals of the ghatwals of Pathrore.

Mr. A. W. Russel, Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in letter no. 869 dated the 7th March, 1856 wrote to the Commissioner of Chota Nagpur saying that both Captain Sissmore and Mr. Tweedie appeared to have acted hastily and injudiciously in the matter of the disturbance at Gadee Serampore. Mr. Tweedie readily gave credence to the reports of the native police officers.

In letter no. 678 dated the 12th March, 1856 the Commissioner of Chota Nagpore wrote to Captain Sissmore regarding the police reports about plunder of the shops of two Moodies at Gadee Serampore by certain Bhagalpur and Beerbhoom Sonthals, opining that there was no apprehension of serious disturbance.

In a letter dated the 13th March, 1856 Mr. Tweedie informed Captain Sissmore that having got an urzee from the Raja of Serampore he went to

Chuckarda, but did not meet the rebels ; the work of officer Ensign Garton and the sepoys was most harrassing.

From Camp Serampore dated 28th March Mr. Tweedie informed the Principal Asst. to the Commissioner, Hazaribagh, that the pergunnah of Khurrackdeh was quiet and he heard nothing of the Santals". Captain Sissmore reported on the 12th April, 1856 that a gang of Santals met at *Baromassie* and burnt the Ahliapore bazar. The officer commanding a Detachment of the 8th Regiment reported on April 18 about his military operations against the Santals. On April 19 Captain Sissmore reported that four hundred Santals met at Mujladdee and Gaddee Dorunda in the Kurruckdea pergunnah. In a letter dated April 25 Mr. Tweedie reported the movement of the Santals, and in a letter dated May 10 gave an account of his military operations against them on April, 29. In a letter dated May 11, 1856 Captain Sissmore reported that Major Jackson had been directed to proceed to Khurruckdea with 200 infantry and 75 cavalry to join the detachment under Lt. Murray. On May 15, 1856 Mr. Tweedie gave an account of his military operations against the Santals with assistance from Lts. Ryan and Murray. On May 17, Mr. W. R. E. Alexander, Offg. Junior Assistant Commissioner at Burhee, reported the movements of the Santals who proceeded towards the east. In letters dated the 18th, 24th, 28th and 30th May he reported about the measures adopted against the Santals at Ghorinjee, Ghundowri and other places.

In a letter dated July 21, 1857 the Principal Assistant Commissioner, Manbhum, reported about the exactions made by the Zemindars from the Santals.

There was some disaffection in Chota Nagpore during the Mutiny. The Santals took advantage of the unsettled condition of the country and created disturbances. Some of the wild tribes also gave a free play to their predatory instincts. Major Simpson, Principal Assistant Commissioner, Hazaribagh wrote a letter on September 7, 1857 to Captain E. J. Dalton, Commissioner Chota Nagpore Division, that 300 *budmashes* and Santals surrounded and attacked the house of Krishna Mahto of Mandoo ; they retreated on the arrival of a party of sowars and police who pursued them, killed and arrested some of the rebels, and he thought that this would have a good effect in checking the plundering propensities of the *chuars* of his district.

In a letter dated September 11, 1857 Captain Dalton informed the Secretary, Government of Bengal, that at Gola and Goomea a mixed body of Santals and others committed atrocious crimes and set at defiance the authority of the police, and that was the only part of his division in which there had been any serious combination.

In a letter dated September 12, 1857 Captain G. N. Oakes, Principal Assistant Commissioner, Manbhum, wrote to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, reporting the assemblage of 200 Santals at a village called Sidhee, 20 miles west of RaneeGUNGE, and their depredations in the neighbouring villages.

In a letter dated September, 17 Major Simpson wrote to Captain Dalton intimating that the police reports from the thanas of Goomea and Raghur gave an unfavourable account of the tranquillity of the country in the south east portion of his district. The Santals with numerous other *budmashes*, Chuars, Ghatwals, and others had collected in great numbers amounting to thousands and plundered numerous villages and perpetrated murders in the villages of Kusmar and Jangee all within a circle little more than ten miles from Gola, that lawless band of plunderers headed by Koka Kumar and Santals accompanied by the son of Beharee Purgunait of Augwallee, assembled at the village of Eoga about 10 or 12 miles from Ramghur, and that there was a similar assemblage of *budmashes* in or near the Jeypore estate in the Manbhum district. He also informed him that on the night of the 13th and morning of the 14th September, several hundred armed Santals had assembled in an open place near Jhurpo for the purpose of plundering the place, that he deputed a detachment of 70 Sikhs including 10 men of the Ramghur Battalion who had remained loyal, under Lieutenants Graham and Earle proceeded to the village of Ruppo Manjee, the leader of the marauders on the 14th and found his house full of plundered property ; that the proceedings of Lt. Graham's detachment were successful and well executed, that the example he had made of the lawless marauders and the destruction of the leader's house would have the effect in repressing the outrages, and that no houses other than Ruppo's were burnt. On September 16 Captain Dalton wrote to Major Simpson sanctioning a reward of Rs. 100 for the apprehension of Ruppo Manjee.

On September 16, 1857 Captain Dalton reported from Hazaribagh that Lt. Graham marched against some two to three hundred Santals who surrounded the house of a relative of Ramghur Raja. The rebels discharged a flight of arrows at Graham's party and wounded some of his men, whereupon his Sikhs and cavalry charged and dispersed them, having killed and wounded some rebels and taken other prisoners. The prisoners confessed that under orders of Raghu Manjee they had been engaged in plundering.

Mr. E. Grey reported from Govindpore that the people in his jurisdiction were suffering, especially the Santals, from scarcity of food, and his jail was rapidly filling with confessing prisoners, who had been driven to crime for the sake of procuring something to eat.

In a letter dated September 20, 1857 Captain G. N. Oakes wrote to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, that the number of Santals at Sidhee, a village near Jeypore, had greatly increased, and that they had begun to attack and plunder the bazar of Jeypore not more than 20 miles from Purulia, that a fight had taken place between the Santals and the Jeypore Zemindar's men, that he had sent 400 ghatwals to their assistance but the force was insufficient ; the Sikh detachment which was at Purulia could not be spread, because in such a crisis the sudder station should not be left undefended. The Zamindar of Burrabhoom and Mokoond Narayan Deo of Manbhum were of course affording him great assistance, but still he needed further help and solicited him for the despatch of 300 men and two guns in addition to 100

muskets and sufficient magazine. On September 22 he reported to Capt. Dalton that a large body of Santals, about 600 in number, had collected 5 miles west of Jeypore and plundered many villages and murdered many men; that he had sent off 100 Sikh volunteers under Captain Montgomery, and Mr. Perry and Mr. Hayes. He thought that Raja Nilmoney Singh, the Zemindar of Pachete, who had been in communication with Bissonath Shaw (*sic*, Sahai?) of Barkagarh and the mutinous Ramghur battalion of sepoys, had been secretly inciting the Santals, but other Zamindars helped Captain Oakes according to their means. On September 23 he reported that the most disturbed part of his district was between Gola of Ramghur district and Chass of Purulia district where the Santals were committing depredations and levying contributions. In consequence of serious disturbances perpetrated by Santals in northern and western parts of his district Captain Oakes could not dispense with the Sikhs. The Pachete Zemindar would give him no assistance, but was sending emissaries. Gangs of Santals who had plundered Gola Chutterpore, and other villages of the Ramghur estate ceased from depredations since the column under Major English marched through Ramghur, but they had accumulated immense plunder and committed a number of murders.

From the records preserved in the record room of the Deputy Commissioner at Purulia it appears that Captain Dalton wrote a letter to Captain Oakes on September 25 regretting that he was not in a position to send him troops from his place but that he had instructed Major Simpson to proceed with a detachment of Sikhs to Gola for repressing the disturbance between Gola and Jeypore. On the same day he wrote to Major Simpson informing him that marauding gangs of Santals and others in the south-east frontier portion of Hazaribagh had retired, that they had secured a vast quantity of plunder, but there was a large collection of Santals near Jeypore and asked him to proceed as soon as possible to Gola with about 100 Sikhs to co-operate with Captain Oakes.

It appears that Urjoon Manjee had a sinister hand in these disturbances. Dubergunjhoo, Rewajah Manjee and he were ringleaders. In a letter dated September 26, 1857 Captain Dalton wrote to Major Simpson sanctioning rewards for their apprehension.

On October 5, 1857 Captain Dalton informed the Secretary to Government, Bengal, that the accounts from Purulia were favourable as there was no fresh gathering of Santals in Jeypore direction since Captain Montgomery visited that part of the country with his Sikhs. On October 13 he wrote that on the approach of Capt. Montgomery the Santals withdrew from Manbhum and reappeared in the eastern parts of the Hazaribagh district.

On October 9, 1857 Major Simpson reported to Mr. A. R. Young, Secretary to Government of Bengal, of a serious rising of Chuars and Santals in the direction of Goomea Chuttee on the old Benares and Calcutta Trunk Road where they had burnt the thana and looted the Chuttee, they numbered seven to ten thousand, that as he had 150 men belonging to the Sikh troops he could not send them without leaving the station of Hazaribagh denuded of troops, and he requested that Major English with the Europeans under

his command might be permitted to remain at Hazaribagh to enable him easily to send the Sikh detachment to deal with the wild tribes.

In a letter dated October 10, 1857 the Secretary to Govt., Bengal, informed the Commissioner that he had received information from Lt. Graham that the latter made two attacks on a gang of Santal marauders at Narrainpore.

On November 2, 1857 Major Simpson informed Captain Dalton that a detachment of 100 Sikhs exclusive of commissioned and non-commissioned officers had been directed some days back to Goomea to put down disturbance still existing in that quarter, and that it was absolutely necessary to check the Chuars who had been carrying away the crops of the well-disposed, otherwise utmost destitution and famine must arise in those parts of the division.

In a letter dated November 21, 1857 Major Simpson informed Captain Dalton that there had been no further disturbances in the past week, that 25 men had been under trial, 18 of them had been convicted, 3 of whom viz., Thakoor Seeban Sing, Thakur Kamalnath Singh and Thakur Govin Sing, who had instigated the Chuars had been sentenced to death, 4 transported for life and the remainder to banishment for 16 years each. He also annexed a copy of the report of Sub-Assistant Commissioner, Hazaribagh, describing his progress in the eastern parts of the district with the detachment of Sikhs under Lt. Earle, and reported that subsequent to Lt. Earle's detachment leaving Chulkeree, Thakur Gunpat Deo of Hoser Sarum had seized Urjoon Santal and Ram Manjee, two leaders of the insurgent Chuars.

Mr. W. de George, Sub-Assistant Commissioner, Hazaribagh reported on November 16, 1857 to Major Simpson of his return to Hazaribagh from a tour towards the eastern part of the district having passed through Digwar, Chutro, Gomeaband, Chulkinree, Augbalee, Chundipore, Gola Ramghur and Mandhoo; that on reaching the Damoodah (Damodar river) he saw a party of Santals about 80 in number, and on his crossing the river, the Santals fled to a village about a quarter of mile distant, . . . at Chundipore he burnt Koka Kumar's house . . . he proceeded to Gola and returned by Ramghur Hazaribagh, he found a great portion of the records at Gomea thana burnt and destroyed, the rebels under Koka Kumar took refuge in the hills east of Gola, between Chundipore and Jeypore, the others at Sagoo hill.

On December 12, 1857 Major Simpson informed Captain Dalton that as the presence of a detachment was still necessary in the eastern and north easter parts of Gola pergunnah he urged the retention of the detachment of Sikhs under Lt. Earle in that quarter.

From a letter dated December 29, 1857 in the Purulia records we find that the Commissioner, Chota Nagpur, forwarded to the Senior Assistant Commissioner Manbhum, a letter from the Magistrate of Balasore intimating to him of the capture of a man who was instigating the Santals in the northern portion of his district.

It appears that Urjoon Manji and his colleagues had escaped and were still at large in 1860 as may be conjectured from a letter dated September 16, 1860 from the Commissioner to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal

relative to the reward of Rs. 200 for the apprehension of Dubergunjhoo, Urjoon Manji and Rwajah Manji, the ringleaders.

In his letter dated the 7th Dec. 1855 Mr W. J. Allen wrote that the Ex-Amir, Meer Abbas Ali Khan, had a grarc hunting party at Nurkundie and that he invited Mr. W. C. Spencer, the Offg. Principal Assistant, and Dr. Kelly, the Civil Assistant Surgeon to join his party and both these gentlemen were with the Ameer from the beginning to the end of the shooting excursion.

I find from the records that in a letter dated the 27th May, 1852 the Commissioner informed Dr. J. P. Kelly that he was appointed Civil Assistant Surgeon of Hazaribagh. From a letter dated January 26, 1848 from Agent, Governor General and Commissioner, South West Frontier to Under-Secretary, Government of Bengal, it appears that Asst. Surgeon J. P. Kelley was the Civil Surgeon of Poorulia, in another letter dated 18th May 1848 there is a reference to his having made an application for the establishment of a district and bazar hospital at Purulia.

In letter no. 2231 dated August 29, 1855 the Under Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, informed Mr. W. C. Spencer, Junior Assistant to the Commissioner of Chota Nagpore, that Government had appointed him Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of the second grade from 6th July, 1855. In a letter (no. 443) dated the 10th October, 1855 he was directed to proceed to Murshidabad to join his appointment there, and he made over charge to Capt. Sissmore on October 15.

Edmund Sissmore, Captain of the 69th Regiment N.I., sworn in on the 15th October, 1855, before Mr. W. C. Spencer took from the latter charge of the office of the Principal Assistant Commissioner, Hazaribagh.

Mr. Tweedie took charge of the sub-division of Burhee relieving Mr. J. W. Broadhurst on September 26, 1855. He was regarded as an inefficient officer by Govt.

Mr. W. de George was transferred from Darrundah to Hazaribagh on 27th September, 1855.

There is an interesting letter in the records at Hazaribagh and Ranchi, no. 31 dated 29th December 1851 from J. H. Crawford, Agent, Governor General, South West Frontier, to Major J. C. Hannington, Deputy Commissioner, Chota Nagpore :

"I have the honour to forward to you an original letter to me from Dr. Collum, Superintendent of the Ex-Ameers of Scinde at Hazaribagh, respecting proceedings in the Criminal Court of that district in a case in which a confidential follower of one of the Ex-Ameers was the accused party.

2. As Dr. Collum's functions relating to the Ex-Ameers require that all legitimate facilities should be afforded to him for obtaining correct information on matters in which they or any of their followers may be involved, I think it is to be regretted that the Principal Sudder Ameen should have withheld from him permission to obtain copies according to the mode authorised by Col. 4 Sect. XVI of Regulation 26 of 1814.

5. I have been informed that one reason of his having arrested the Scindian Mean Mohomed Hosein Khan in the manner objected to by the Ex-Ameer Hossein Ali Khan"

R. Collum, Esq., M.D., was the Superintendent of Agency Jail, Hazaribagh.

There is a letter no. 418 dated 28th September, 1855 from the Commissioner, Chota Nagpore to Mr. Spencer on the subject of converting a bungalow "at present occupied by His Highness Meer Abbas Ali Khan" to be turned into public offices. There is a letter no. 474 dated 29th October, 1855 from Commissioner to Captain Sissmore "on the proposal of converting Sir Walter Gilbert's bungalow and the one next to it lately occupied by the Ameer" into public offices.

There is a mahalla at Hazaribagh called Nawabgunge alleged to be named after the ex-Ameers of Sind.

KALIPADA MITRA.

P/16066

John Barleycorn Bahadur Old Time Taverns in India.

"Whoe'er has travelled life's dull round,
Where'er his stages may have been,
May sigh to think he still has found
The warmest welcome at an inn."
William Shenstone.

"I would not labour, I, nor sing,
Advertisement's vain tide to swell:
But he hath found a goodly thing
Who finds a comfortable hotel.

Here guests are free to come and go,
To lounge, or laugh, to work or play;
To eat and drink, or fast—and lo!
The night is even as the day."

In the early days a journey to India was an arduous undertaking. Gemelli Careri, an Italian who came in 1692 mentions four ways of getting there, the best in his opinion being across Asia Minor and Persia. The sea route he condemned as there "was much danger to life or at least to health in the midst of these horrible tempests and tedious calms, which keep the spirit in continual alarm, while the body is entirely fed on spoiled food, and one drinks no water which is not tainted and full of worms."

Rough as the journey may have been, travellers did not always find their troubles at an end when they reached their destination. The voyage was not the worst part of the journey and many harassed souls must have been in full accord with the Hindu philosopher who declared travel to be a foretaste of hell.

Where to stay on arrival at an Indian port must have been an anxious problem to most travellers owing to the "absence of inns for the convenience of travellers." Apparently there were places where strangers were given shelter and treated on equality with Indian people. Herbert, writing of his day (1627) states "At Band Alley we found a neat caravanserai built by men's charity to give all civil passengers a resting place *gratis*; to keep them from the injury of thieves, beasts, weather etc."

The Arch. Survey of India, Vol. XXXVII, states that in the middle of the 17th Century, "the rest-houses (at Bijapur) for the free accommoda-

tion of travellers, were so luxuriously appointed that men said of them "to rest therein was for the weary to taste the medicine of felicity."

Edward Terry, Rector of Great Greenford who arrived at Surat with Sir Thomas Roe on September 24th 1615 tells of an English cook who came with the Mission of whom it was said, "he was at least as anxious to provide good liquor for himself as savoury viands for his master." This cook was a drunken swash-buckler who nearly brought extermination to the other members of the party. Terry expressed the opinion that "tippling-houses, which are the Devil's nursery, the very tents wherein Satan dwells, where Almighty God receives abundance of dishonour; drunkenness being a sin which hath hands and fingers to draw all other sins unto it; for a drunkard can do anything or be anything but good."

John Ovington in "A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689," states that he arrived at Bombay at the beginning of the Monsoon; "September and October, those two months which immediately follow the Rains, are very pernicious to the Health of Europeans; in which two Moons more of them die than generally in all the year besides" "And the unhealthfulness of the water bears a just proportion to the scarcity and meanness of the Diet and both of them together with a bad Air, make a sudden end of many a poor Sailer and Souldier, who pay their lives for hopes of a livelihood."

Although da Silveira in 1529 christened Bombay "The Island of Good Life" because his sailors enjoyed rest and refreshment there, the unhealthiness was proverbial. Fryer termed it a charnel-house. The swamps left by the sea at low tide must have been as bad for health as the intemperance of the Europeans themselves. In addition there was the "stinking of the Fish which was used to be applied to the Roots of the trees instead of Dung" making Bombay even worse than Coleridge's opinion of Cologne.

"In Koln, a town of monks and bones,
And pavements fanged with murderous stones,
And rags, and hags, and hideous wenches;
I counted two and seventy stenchs."

Ovington states that of 24 passengers who arrived with him at Bombay at the commencement of the rains, twenty, and fifteen of the ship's company perished before the rains had ceased.

Old writers have said that the Portugese, when they settled anywhere, began building a church; the Dutch, by building a fort, and the English by building a tavern. In Cochin some years ago, the progress of deterioration was still in evidence. The old Cathedral erected to the glory of God by Albuquerque, or Vasca da Gama was turned into a fort by the Dutch, and later, a British public house was superimposed on both.

The Church and the tavern were long connected in England. Beer and Bible have won more elections than any other combination and it might be brought to memory that it was not until 1827 that a license was withdrawn from a church-tavern in Deepdale, a village between Derby and Nottingham, which had a door between the altar and the tap room.

Daniel Defoe was struck by that for he wrote—

“Whenever God erects a House of Prayer,
The Devil always builds a Chapell there,
And 'twill be found upon examination
The latter has the largest congregation.”

Which sounds quite all right but one should remember there are a thousand ways of being bad and only one of being good.

BOMBAY TAVERNS.

According to official records dated August 13th 1694 John Wright obtained permission to keep a tavern in Bombay. To give an idea of the minutiae to which legislation descended at that time it was ordered that, “if any man comes into a victualling house to drink punch, he may demand one quart of good Goa arrack, half a pound of sugar, and half a pint of good lime water, and make his own punch. And if the bowle be not marked with the clerk of the market's seale, then the bowle may be freely broken without paying anything either for the bowle or the punch.”

“Cases of poisoning were said to be frequent at these taverns. The rude manners of British seamen led them to use a freedom with the dark ladies who frequented such places, for which they occasionally paid the penalty of their lives. A rough kiss was given when a tar was under the excitement of liquor, or an offensive piece of raillery would so disgust “the black wench” whose employment it was to make that “beloved mixture, punch or arak,” that she would contrive with a subtle skilfulness to make the bowl fatal to the man who abused her, whilst his companions drank without the slightest injury to themselves.”

“The English in Western India,”
Philip Anderson, A.M.
pp. 131-2 (1854.)

It was a rough world. Edward Terry tells us that “it was usual then for parents or guardians to send unruly spirits out to India, that they might make their graves in the sea or on the Indian shore.” This, he calls a very cleanly conveyance for parents to be rid of their unruly children.

Charles Raikes who wrote “The Englishman in India” adds to this. “It was usual to send out several criminals, sentenced to death in England and respited, to be turned loose on any newly discovered shore by our early mariners. A batch of these “Newgate birds” as they were called, generally went out with each Indian fleet.” (1867) pp. 31-32.

In 1782 “Houses of entertainment began to be established in Bombay, “W. Chambers and David Echlin desiring they may be permitted to keep such institutions for strangers”. The Board permitted the request, drew up regulations and a scale of rates for them; and four years later permitted Mr. Ogilvie Geddes to establish “a well-regulated punch-house without the town walls,” hoping that European soldiers and seamen would no longer be

forced to purchase "from the Bhandaris and others strong inflammatory liquors." One of the best known buildings in Bombay was Mr. Hornby's Great House, which stands in his name in the Bombay Collector's rent roll for the first time in 1771. Subsequently it was used as an Admiralty house ; and has been improved and converted by a later generation into the Great Western Hotel, facing the main gate of the Government Dockyard."

"The Rise of Bombay, (1902). A Retrospect." S. M. Edwardes, p. 203.

Major David Price, who spoke highly of the place in which he stayed on arrival in Madras, found himself, later in the Bombay Hotel, at that period kept by Mr. Macfarlane. That was in 1782 and he complained of being robbed of all the money he had the first night he spent in the place.

According to James Douglas who gives a long list of hotels and taverns, the Races Banquet was held at the Bombay Hotel in 1799. Duncan Cameron became the sole proprietor some years later. "Cameron", says Douglas, 'is immortalised in the page and picture of "Qui Hi."

"Quiz," the author, used a powerful pen with which he attacked much in Anglo-Indian life of the times ; he is sympathetic in part, but his book makes sad reading. The title runs—

"The GRAND MASTER, or ADVENTURES of QUI HI in HINDOSTAN, a HUDIBRASTIC POEM in EIGHT CANTOS BY QUIZ." (1816).

The poem is the life story of a lad arriving as a Cadet. Apparently he first served in Bengal then sailed to Bombay and on arriving at the Bunder-Head,—

"On this occasion, he thought fit,
'Twould, very likely, be as well
To leave his trunks at the hotel."

* * * * *

"And thus our travellers contrive,
At Duncan's tavern to arrive,
Our host a rough spun child of nature,
Evinc'd the Scot in ev'ry feature.—
An honest, plain, blunt, knowing fellow,
Who lov'd a joke, and would get mellow.
With such a landlord, QUI HI could
Not feel displeas'd much, if he would.
Ere Boniface could well appear,
QUI HI exclaim'd aloud for beer :
He got some, but so very bad,
It almost made our hero mad ;
He curs'd the Moorman that had brought it,
Ask'd him what kind of beer he thought it :
And ere a word the fellow said,
He threw the tumbler at his head.

The servants run on ev'ry side
 Some strive in vain, themselves to hide—
 Some leave their billiards, some their tiffin
 To see what they all thought a griffin.
 At length arriv'd old Boniface,
 And interceded to make peace ;
 He never could believe it true,
 His beer! the cause, and sour stuff too,—
 For he could make it soon appear,
 'Twas in his godown *a whole year* ;
 But if he was for beer inclin'd,
 Another sort he'd quickly find.
 He then told Bhikajee to go,
 "And get another, where you know ;"
 For Duncan was not such a goose,
 To keep bad beer for *his own use*.
 The other bottle made amends,
 And guest and landlord soon are friends.

* * * * *

Our hero now, while dinner waited,
 The Bombay tavern contemplated :
 But first the chairs attract his eye,—
 They each engrain'd with *sans souci* :
 This made the novice stand and stare—
 In India people without care !
 'The word was only *on the chair*.'

And so on for 252 pages with informative notes which show an intimate knowledge of Indian life. But, from what one learns later it was the practice to import bad beet.

The hostelry referred to must have been Duncan Cameron's Bombay Hotel and Tavern which was for many years the resort of the celebrated Sans Souci Club, which entertained Sir Arthur Wellesley.

From what one read in racy contemporary novels, throwing bottles, glasses, or boots at servants' heads was a common practice not only in India, that is if there is any truth in Lever's yarns. No wonder there have been so many servants' problems.

Many who wrote their reminiscences a hundred and fifty years ago referred to the absence of hotels and taverns yet, in making these assertions, the names of taverns constantly occur ; bad as they undoubtedly were, there seems to have been quite a lot of them.

Mrs. Maria Graham, wife of a Captain in the Royal Navy, authoress of "A Journal of a Residence in India" (1813) writes from Bombay on May 28, 1809 as follows :—

"As there is but one tavern in Bombay, and that is by no means fit for the reception of ladies, the hospitality of the British inhabitants is always

exercised towards new-comers, till they can provide a place of residence for themselves." That, apparently was Duncan Cameron's "Bombay Hotel and Tavern".

Her book is a pleasant piece of work, well illustrated, but, according to "Quiz" in "Qui Hi," she apparently ruffled the feathers of the "inhabitants" when she "properly made use of the term "Colonists" though the doggrel critics in India attempted to murder her fame.

In "Glimpses of Old Bombay and Western India," James Douglas states that "On May 9, 1800, a number of gentlemen dined at Maclean's Hotel to commemorate the capture of Seringapatam".

By 1820 the number of taverns had increased. Figures for October of that year give—"The Bombay Tavern par excellence." "The Mighty Tavern of the East." "In the Fish and Vegetable Bazaar are the "Country Tavern", the "Duke of Wellington", The "Lord Nelson", the "Bootfull of Mischief" and the "Chinaman's Tavern".

November 30th 1825.—"A small party at Mr. Cresselman's Hotel held a St. Andrew's Dinner. There was haggis and Glenlivet."

September 1826. The Elphinstone Arms shut up.

November 1835. The Albion Hotel. R. T. Hart.

December 14, 1837. Victoria Hotel opened, 15 Apollo Street.

August 24, 1839. A Bombay Hotel Company started to supply the want of a good hotel.

March 30, 1842. "It is remarked "there is no Hotel in Bombay at present hence a Joint Stock Hotel and Boarding House Company is started with a capital of 2 lakhs."

It has been said that an Englishman will die for his home but never for his boarding house. When one has lived in those dreadful places where a poverty stricken landlady tries to save on everything she buys and then, when illness ensues she explains it by saying you have a chill on the stomach one understand that. There may be good boarding houses but there is generally less liberty and worse food than in a hotel of the same class. Accommodation is better—temptation is less but if the pub is half way between the club and the bazaar, the boarding house is below the pub.

November 26, 1842. The British Hotel and Boarding House, Apollo Street—Mrs. Blackwell announced that on December 10th of that year a big dinner was given to James Outram, (The Bayard of India.)

A famous Bombay hotel-boarding house was Hope Hall, located at Mazagaon in 1837. Sir D. E. Wacha refers to it and Douglas gives in full the cost of living in the best places in Bombay between 1845 and 1850.

HOPE HALL FAMILY HOTEL

"The proprietor of the above establishment has spared neither expense nor trouble to deserve the distinguished patronage with which he has been honoured, and the continuance of which he most respectfully solicits.

"The house is situated in Mazagon, on one of the most agreeable, healthy, and fashionable spots of the island, and contains apartments particularly well adapted for families. Every room has a bathing place, etc., attached to it, and there is a number of single and double pole tents, with very desirable accommodation for single gentlemen. A bungalow containing a billiard table is set apart for smoking, which is not allowed in the house.

"The meals, consisting of breakfast, tiffin, and dinner besides coffee and tea, are served Table d'Hote or separately as may be desired.

"For passengers by the Overland route, boats are kept ready to take them on shore as soon as the steamer is anchored. An agent of the establishment will take care and bring to the hotel the luggage, which every passenger is requested to point out to him. Arrived on shore an omnibus belonging to the establishment will bring ladies and gentlemen to the Hotel.

"The proprietor, importing most of the articles of luxury, including beer, wine, and liquors, from England and France direct, is enabled to offer the best choice at reasonable rates.

"There are conveyances of all kinds in the establishment to be had at a moment's notice.

TERMS OF BOARDING

"Board and lodging for a person occupying one room and taking meals at the Table d'Hote :—

Per month	...	...	...	...	Rs. 130
Fortnight	...	...	...	...	Rs. 75
Day	...	...	...	...	Rs. 6
Children and European servants Rs. 2 per diem.					

J. M. SCHULHOF.

"The proprietor begs most respectfully to draw the attention of messes, families, etc., to his stock of claret, champagne, and other foreign wines and liquors imported by him, which he offers at very low rates if taken from his godown.

"N.B.—Board and lodging for a gentleman or lady in their own rooms :—

Per day	...	...	...	...	Rs. 7
Fortnight	...	...	...	...	Rs. 85
Month	...	...	...	...	Rs. 160

REDUCED CHARGES OF BOARD AND LODGING FOR FAMILIES

		Old charge	New charge
Lady and Gentleman, Fortnight	...	Rs. 150	110
Lady and Gentleman, Table d'hote, per month	...	Rs. 260	220
Lady and Gentleman, Private, per month	...	Rs. 320	260
Lady and Gentleman, Private, Fortnight	...	Rs. 170	150

CARRIAGE.

1 horse conveyance, month	...	...	Rs. 150	100
Do. do. Fortnight	...	...	Rs. 75	60
2 horse conveyance, per month	...	...	Rs. 300	200
Do. do. Fortnight	...	...	Rs. 150	110

The author, Mr. James Douglas goes on—

"This is a most important document, No question has been more discussed than the cost of living in Bombay, and whether it has been increased or diminished during the past half-century. But something has to be said on the other side, for exchange overshadows European life in India, and makes the life of many scarce worth living out here.

"Hotel expenses mean rent, taxes, servants' wages, lights, and other items of bed and board. Readers of this document will form their own conclusions. Of course, in addition to the items we have named, there are many luxuries we have added which have become necessities; but confining ourselves to strictly hotel expenditure, the conclusion seems to be irresistible that there is no difference whatever between 1845 and 1895. The value of the rupee, *quoad* all other things, from gold down to coolies' wages, is quite another story. Leaving economists to pursue the subject, we gather from this announcement that smokers were less liberally dealt with than at present, and that the word "bath-room" had not as yet found a place in the hotel owner's dictionary. (The exchange rate in 1895 was 1/0½d. per rupee.)

The ban on smoking reminds me of an experience on board a small steamer which runs between Brisbane and Bribie Island. The saloon was luxuriously furnished with a long dining table covered with black American cloth and comfortable wooden forms. The waitresses or stewardesses quite nice girls and totally destitute of side, sat on the table with their feet on the form chatting amiably to passengers,—everything quite homely. While admiring the democratic nature of the outfit my eye was attracted by a notice hanging in conspicuous places which read:—

"GENTLEMEN WILL NOT SMOKE.
OTHERS MUSTN'T."

To use Mr. J. Douglas's own words—"Let us turn to the following Bombay advertisement of 1845. We give it with its bad spelling, grammar and punctuation":—

"BRITISH HOTEL, BOMBAY.

"For the Accommodation of Families and Gentlemen. These specious premises are desirably situate in the Fort, and wethin five minutes walk of the Banks of Dock Yard, Custom House and principal House of Agency.

"Wines and liquors of the best description. Tiffins and Dinners sent out on short notice.

T. Blackwell, Proprietor.

But that is not so unfortunate as a more modern advertisement which offered "Lodgings for respectable men and commercial travellers." or an incident in the Scottish Highlands when two men complained of the high charge for drinks and the landlord took it up in earnest demanding to be told by the waiter—"How dare you charge these two men gentlemen's prices?"

Sir D. E. Wacha states, "About that period (1845) there were several taverns that would not be termed in those days any more than third-rate grogshops. Half a dozen were scattered in the locality of Sonarpur, mostly frequented by soldiers and sailors and low-class clerks and others of the same kidney. Their names have been saved by the "Bombay Gazetteer." One was called "Parsi George" and the other "Portuguese George." A third tavern had the name of "Paddy Goose." We knew of one called the "Green Railing Tavern."

"Anyhow these taverns were the haunts of low-class folk and in many ways disreputable by reason of the vulgar Venuses of the locality who were to be seen there angling. (Bombay Ducks?) The barmaids did not come into vogue for another twenty years."

"Dr. Moses' Sketches" states in 1851 that "A single man may live most comfortably on £100 a year."

1850. June 1st. Benson's Hotel, Rampart Row, opened.

1852. June 21st. Sailors' Home, Sanatoriums and Hotels! Filthy. (Apparently that word was not advertised).

1856, February 26th. Good entertainment for gentlemen and parties visiting this delightful station. Matheran Hotel, R. Basteon.

January, 1857. The "Bombay Quarterly Review" says:—"A broker introduced at a festive dinner at the Family Hotel, the Theodore Hook of the Fort Community, extracts a yellow handkerchief from his white jacket and sings. Considered a wonderful and inimitable being."

1858, March 4th. All liquor shops to be closed on Sundays between 10 A.M. and 1-30 P.M. and from 5 to 8 in the evening.

1859, April 1st. There is a goodly show of hotels. One paper says:—"If people must stand on their dignity there is The Hope Hall; if convenience is preferred above fashion there is The British and English Hotel in the Fort."

Pallonji, an enterprising Parsi opened the Adelphi in that year. A list of names of residents was published in the Bombay papers on July 16th. "Apart from his courtesy, affability, everything to all men and women, he learnt by practical experience that "terms positively cash" ought not to be inflexible in hotel management. A little judicious relaxation was essential." There is much truth in that. Break up a small crowd who meet to drink in company by stopping the credit of one, and it is possible to lose the active support of half a dozen. Hotel keepers have to take more risks from credit than other business men. "Pallonji was always ready with his purse for the needy and never dragged any one into court." (His bad debts must have been large).

On August 30th. 1864, Watson, a wealthy draper, bought from Government a plot of land, bidding against the Bombay Club, for Rs. 110 per

square yard, then considered a fabulous price. On it he built Watson's Hotel and annexe, a large rambling building, which are far in advance of the hotels of the day. It was completed in 1870 and Sir D. E. Wacha relates that "I vividly recollect how I paid Rs. 20 for a ticket of admission to the newly built terrace at the top to view the magnificent fireworks, in honour of the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh."

At that time various theatrical companies came to the city, including the troupe of Dave Carson, the humorist.

In 1890 I stayed a month in Watson's and paid, to the best of my recollection, four rupees a day. At that rate the menu was no better than that of a dak bungalow, but the rooms were large and comfortable, and price was then, to me, the first consideration.

Major General Sir H. Hallam Parr, in 1894 put up at a Bombay Hotel "Which is an appalling place, frightfully crowded with English and Anglo-Indians, who all have at least two servants. There is no attempt at servants' accommodation and those servants have to lie about as best they can. You may imagine the overcrowding of the narrow passages. Every vantage-point is taken up by a little encampment of ayah or khitmagar and bearer, etc., The feeding and coffee-room arrangements were quite indescribably bad—e.g. the first day our tea for breakfast was brought to us sugared and milked. Friction always between our own servants and the hotel servants—in fine, more discomfort and ten times the fuss that one would have in a dauk bungalow, and almost London prices to pay."

MADRAS TAVERNS.

The English were not long in Madras before they established taverns which soon gained a bad reputation. A letter written in 1659 states—"There is one thing more that I shall propose to your Worship's consideration which in my opinion seems somewhat incongruous to the good Government of the Soldiers in the Honble Companies Fort—vizt, That foure of the cheife officers belonging to the Garrison should be suffered to keep Punch Houses ; for by this meanes they that should see good Order keep amongst the Soldiers doe, for their owne benefit, occasion the greatest disorder."

Apparently "Cheife officers of the Garrison" were not the only delinquents. Further references of about the same date are found.

"Also, having had many complaints of the disorderleyneess of the souldiers of this Garrison, occasioned through the multiplicity of punch and victualling houses, it is now resolved that no unmarried persons be permitted to keep houses of entertainment, and only such as shall be permitted by the Governor ; and that no souldier or any other be permitted to stay at any of the said victualling houses after ringing of the bell for 8 of the Clock of the Evening

"It is also resolved. for the encouragement of those that are in the Honble Companys service, that none that are out of their service shall keepe a house of Entertainment."

That the taverns were the resort of bad hats out for anything from pitch-and-toss to manslaughter everybody seemed to admit. Those were the days when doctors and tavern keepers suffered from a precocious hardening of the heart which did not kill them but was often fatal to others. Then there were outcast ruffians who houcussed and robbed strangers when they were drunk, or asleep and other attractions which came to the same thing in the end. As Byron put it—

“What men call gallantry and the gods call adultery
Is much more common where the climate is sultry.”

Stories were told of officers, men in their thirties, inducing new arrivals, often mere children to drink and gamble. And if, after winning their money, they dared complain about the ungentlemanly manner in which they had been swindled, well, pistols for two and coffee for the good shot were there for the asking, and no need to ask twice either.

In August, 1678, all tavern-keepers were directed to appear at the Court of Judicature to take out licenses. The licence authorized the Publican to retail ‘any kind of Wine, Beere, Rum, or other Europe Liquors ; Punch, Arrack, or other Indian Liquors ; and to keepe a common Victualling house, or house of entertainment.’ The licences were farmed to John Barker for one year at 205 Pagodas. (“Pagoda”—about eight shillings.)

“The Keepers of Taverns, Punch houses and Arrack houses appeared at Court againe this day, and then there was read to them a paper of proposalls and Articles concerning the Renting and farming of Licences for selling of all sorts of Liquors by Retaile ; which the greatest part well approved, and some of the poorer sort liked it not so well :—

ARTICLES TO BE OBSERVED.

“Imprimis. That you hang out a Sign that your house be knowne to be a publicke house of Entertainment. . . .

“6. That you keepe in your house 2 Cottis for Strangers, with cleane Linnen and good accommodation, wholesome Dyett and Liquor ; and you shall not refuse to entertaine such as shall desire the same.

“7. That you shall not sell any kind of Wine at above $\frac{3}{4}$ of a pagoda the pottle Bottle, English beer not exceeding 6 fanams the pottle Bottle, Mum not exceeding 8 fanams the quart Bottle, punch not exceeding 5 fanams a Bowle or a quart of Goa or Paryar Arrack, Goa Arrack not exceeding $2\frac{1}{2}$ fanams the quart, Bengale Arrack not exceeding 4 fanams the quart. . . . (“Fanam” about $2\frac{1}{2}d$.)

“These orders thus for to be translated into Portuguez, and to be hung up at the ffort Gate in English, and at the Choultry in Portuguez for all persons concerned to take notice thereof.” (Vestiges of Old Madras, Vol. 1. p. 44.)

In spite of constant references to the absence of accommodation for strangers, taverns in the older times sprang up like mushrooms—or, shall it

be said—toadstools? Certainly their lives appear to have been as brief as a cut flower, but poor as they were, they were many.

A record dated 10th November 1754 states—"We have sometimes been put to great inconveniences in accommodating Strangers ; such We mean whose Stations or Characters entitle them to publick notice, If your Honours will permit Us to set apart one of the Confiscated houses for that purpose, and furnish it decently, it would answer that End. At present Strangers are obliged to take up with what conveniences are to be met with in a Punch House."

It was not the privilege of everybody to be allowed to put up in the better class of taverns. "Keeping of a House of Entertainment for the reception of Strangers and unsettled Persons" was permitted "on condition that He will not entertain any Person under the Degree of a Commission'd Officer, Officers of Ships, or other upon the footing of a Gentleman." (29th January, 1760.)

Amongst the New Rules drawn up for the Madras Garrison in 1741 it is stated that—"A regulation forbidding soldiers to keep public houses was modified, so as to render such employment permissible whenever European shipping was in the roads. At such times the men were nevertheless to appear for drill as usual. On the departure of the ships their extra-regimental work ceased."

Major David Price who enlisted in the Company's army and was given a cadetship after embarkation before the ship sailed from Gravesend, landed in August 1781, "in perfect safety, in Madras roads ; just one hundred and sixty-two days from the period at which we quitted Portsmouth."

Having been given an advance of two months cadets' pay, "We had taken up our abode at Richard's Hotel, on the outskirts of that arid plane, which then extended from the glacis of the fort to the suburbs known by the designation of the Black town ; where we were hospitably entertained at a pagoda (8s.) a day ; our daily pay as cadets, amounting to no more than one rupee (2s. 6d.) so that it might have been almost truly said, that we spent—"Half-a-crown out of sixpence a day." He goes on,

"This was however a system of finance too ruinous to be permanent ; so I accordingly removed, at the expiration of a few days, and by the recommendation of some friends to a residence more congenial with the constitution of my purse ; to a kind of eating-house, in the vicinity of Popham-street, kept by a Frenchman who had been cook to Sir Robert Harland, one of the Admirals who had recently commanded the squadron in India. I regret that I should have entirely forgotten the name of this kind-hearted foreigner ; who, for the short time during which I remained under his roof, behaved to me with an attention that was almost paternal."

7th July, 1790.—'William Bell, Removed from Armenian Street To the house lately occupied by Mr. Beggle in Du Puy Street, Black Town, Begg leave to inform the Public, that he continues the sale of his truly excelent and superior Madeira at 3 Pagodas per Doz. He begs leave at the same

time to tender his sincere thanks for the ample support he has continued to receive from his friends and a justly discriminating Public.

N.B. 'Madeira in Pipes at 95 Page each.' "Vestiges of Old Madras". Vol. III. 4489

While cash figures give little indication of values without comparison with other commodities, food stuff in particular, they can often offer the best idea of prices available. The following advertisements, if they do nothing else, prove that rich men only could indulge in the large quantities of liquor believed to be the prevailing custom of the day.

TAVERNS.

8th September, 1791—THE MASTER of that well known and much frequented House The Griffin, on the Great Western Road 3, returns grateful thanks to his friends and the Public for that partial attention which he has hitherto experienced from them, and assures them that it shall be his earnest and constant endeavour, by his future conduct, to merit a continuance of their favour. He has the pleasure to inform them that he has now laid in a choice assortment of Wines and other Liquors of the first quality, and in particular Claret of that much esteemed vintage of 1759. Also some of Thrale's best old October in the Cask, which he can answer for as having been in this Country upwards of twelve years: with Cheese and Hams, carefully preserved in Tom Lincoln's Godown since the year 1785. There is excellent Stabling for Horses and Carriages with careful drivers.

N.B. The House is pleasantly situated with Pumlies in the neighbourhood, and Monboddo's Academy for youth is near at hand."

"12th January 1792.—FORT TAVERN, COURT HOUSE STREET

"John Card begs leave to acquaint his friends and the public in general. That he is removed from the London tavern in Black Town to the Tavern in Fort St. George, and he humbly solicits the continuance of that encouragement he has hitherto experienced.

"N.B. Soups every morning, and dinners dress'd on the shortest Notice—and the very best Wine."

"COFFEE HOUSE. James Fell begs leave to acquaint the Public that The Coffee Room in the Madras Exchange will be opened on Monday the 16th Instant; and as he wishes to the utmost of his power to give general satisfaction he proposes keeping the Room as much as possible on the same plan as that of New-Lloyd's in London by opening a sett of Books to register all Arrivals and Departures to and from all the Ports of India, and first intelligence of Shipping to and from Europe. He also means to take in all the News-Papers of this Country and Europe for the use of the Coffee-Room, where a Clerk will attend for the purpose of receiving and taking care of Papers and Letters belonging to Gentlemen who may do him the Honor to frequent the room. . . ."

5th April, 1792.—"EXCHANGE COFFEE HOUSE."

"James Fell begs leave to inform the Gentlemen of this Settlement that he will have in future Alamode Beef from Eleven till Two, and from Six till Eight in the Evening, with Salade, &c., Dressed in the same manner as at the Thirteen Cantoons in London."

FOR SALE

"by Messrs Beggles and Hefcke in Du Puy Street, 8 French Claret in Chests of two and two and half Dozen each, at 3 Pagodas per dozen for ready money only."

The "Madras Courier" of July 21st 1790 expresses an opinion in verse which looks as if "Qui Hi" took that as a pattern in 1816.

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THE PUNCH HOUSE.

'Forth from the Fort beyond the whirling sands
Full many a House of recreation stands,
Whose open door and fairly-lettered sign
Invite the stranger—enter here and dine.
The Obsequious landlord welcomes each on shore
In studied phrase, to thousands used before,
"Here, bring his honor's Trunk and cote this way."
"The weather's cursed hot"—"A smoaking day"—
Whilst honest Sawmy, master's head Dubash,
Secures his Keys, his Cloaths-bag and his Cash,
And like a prudent, wary, knowing elf,
Endeavours none shall rob him—but himself.

* * * * *

Mean while mine Host retires to cook a Tiffin
With his remark—"O, Damme, what a griffin!
"Here, grill that Fowl; it only died on Sunday,
And bring the Porter-bottoms sav'd on Monday"—
Throughout the Black-town quick the news is handed,
"One Ship arrive, and all the people's landed.

* * * * *

Say, should he wish a languid hour to kill—
He dashes in a Bandy to—Hog hill,
Returns delighted to his ill-made Tea,
And crowns the evening—in the Patcheree—
In noise and revelry thus pass the days;
At length my Landlady her bill displays.

"Why, landlord, zounds! too much upon my life."
 "I leave these things, your honour, to my wife;
 And so d'ye see you'd best not make a noise,
 For, if you do, I calls them there Sepoys"—
 Abused, affronted, ridiculed and cheated, ...
 He flies to tell his Ship-mates how he's treated.

* * * * *

Happy the youth whom some kind friend recalls
 To peace and virtue from th' unhallow's walls.
 O! kindly act! Rescued perhaps from death,
 The Youth shall bless you with his latest breath."

On the 15th June, 1796 Tavern and Punch House Licenses were granted for that year to a number of people among them being the names of three women. "Several of these tavern keepers became landed proprietors, and, indeed, the names of three are still commemorated in Madras, viz., John Standiver Sherman in *Sherman's Road*, Vepery; Lynn Pereira in *Lynn Pereira Street*, San Thome; and Francis D'Silva in *De Silva's Road*, Luz." One of the licensees, J. S. Sherman, had lately rebuilt his premises, which were situated at the south end of Stringer Street, and had the misfortune to break some of the city's byelaws.

"His workmen were stopped in May by authority, and he represents that, if he is not permitted to build an upper story, he will be put to great loss, as 'the design and business for which the house was intended to be erected (being that of a Tavern and Hotel) absolutely requires an upper story for Bed rooms and other conveniences.' The Chief Engineer reported that the ground given up was an encroachment on Stronger Street by a former lessee. By increasing the height of his house from 19 to 26 feet Sherman is violating a regulation under which 'no person has a right to build an upper story within one hundred yards of the boundary of the Esplanade.' Government directed Sheriman, as they call him, to curb his ambitious ideas."

Sherman more than likely gave his name to Sherman's Gardens, Nungumbaukum. He died in 1841 so must have spent quite fifty years in India.

"General Harris had in 1798 allowed one John Burden to open a tavern in the Fort, but the proprietor closed the house within a year for want of Capital. In 1800 he applied for a renewal of sanction, and the Justices supported his request. Government passed the following orders:—"Agreed to authorize the Justices to grant a License for the Tavern recommended by them for a period of one year, as a temporary convenience to the Public; but, as such an institution is inconsistent with the principles on which it is intended to regulate the Fort, Agreed also to desire that the license may not be renewed at the expiration of that time." "Vestiges of Old Madras", Vol. II, p. 503.

The three principal Public-house received the special concession recommended in the following letter:—

The Justices to Lord Mornington and Council.

"We Recommend that the Taverns on the Esplanade Called the Navy Tavern, the King's Arms, and the Old London Tavern be permitted to be kept open until 12 at Night. The other Taverns and Punch Houses will be Shut at 9 at Night.

"Although the Sale of Cordials is not likely to produce the Effects of Ebriety among the lower Classes of the People, yet as the Arrack Farmer, under the Head of *all Spirituous Liquors*, claims the exclusive privilege of Selling Cordials, We have been obliged to put the Additional Tax upon these Liquors, as well as upon Jamaica Rum, Gin, Brandy, &c." 24th May 1799.

Colonel Love's "Vestiges of Old Madras" stops short at the year 1800 and information about taverns during the XIXth Century is difficult to obtain. Conditions probably continued the same until the advent of electricity, cheap ice, and quicker passages to and from England led to a demand for improvement. Judging by Calcutta, conditions in 1890 must have differed little from those of 1820, and it is doubtful if Madras tried to get in advance of the times.

R. C. Caldwell's "Chit-Chat Papers" published in 1873 makes rather sad reading as it is difficult to believe that men posing as leaders in Madras society should have been such cads. But cads they were and by boasting of caddishness to their servants, male and female they apparently did not know what bounders they actually were. I take this extract as one of the least snobbish parts of "Chit-Chat."

"Mr. Brown of Cubban's Hotel had some time ago a number of discontented boarders who kept declaring that the beef he set before them as buffalo-flesh. This got unbearable, so thought Mr. Brown, "I will just try to see if they know what buffalo meat is," and this resolution he carried into practice, setting before the dissatisfied gentlemen a good sirloin of buffalo—which at once, one and all, they declared was excellent—just what they wanted, &c. When they had buffalo meat for several days (enjoying it all the time) Mr. Brown took pity on them, and explained to them their slight error. They never criticised Mr. Brown's beef again."

The fact being, that not one person in ten in India knows what good food is, or enjoys it when it is put before him.

Madras, capital city of the "Benighted Presidency" was as backward as other parts of India so far as hotel comforts went until 1892 when Mr. Aumara-gura, owner of the "Elphinstone", (now Spencer's Hotel,) took over the Connemara.

At one time the building had been the residence of the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army. It was of the usual Madras design in favor a century and more ago, with lofty rooms, thick walls, spacious corridors and halls, with the best bedrooms designed to keep out heat and light but making darkness almost visible.

It was not until 1933 that the main building was demolished and the new Connemara commenced. The new hotel was completed in November 1937, and, so far as Madras is concerned, is like the wedding present—far too good. The "lay-out" of kitchens and dining rooms is said to be the most perfect in India.

It cannot be denied that Messrs. Spencer & Co. have done much for the improvement of Madras social life by giving it what travellers say, is the best hotel in India.

CALCUTTA TAVERNS.

It is curious that Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta appears to have been one of the first interested in taverns there. It is said that he "gained an unenviable reputation on the score of the punch house and billiard table kept by Hill, the Secretary and Captain of the soldiers, to whom Charnock entrusted wide powers of indiscretion." Charles Raikes, in "The Englishman in India" states that a sergeant was kept as a bully and the officer in charge "was allowed to send in false returns in aid of the tavern business."

Charnock came to India in 1665. "On October 25 1667 the Company, to show their appreciation of his services, increased his pay to £40 per annum, and in 1676 he was granted an annual gratuity of £20." Towards the end of his days he appears to have degenerated. Professor C. R. Wilson was of opinion that "Charnock possessed the rare virtue of disinterested honesty—a virtue which raised up against him scores of secret enemies. Coarse and sinful he may have been, but I prefer to remember only his resolute determination, his clear-sighted wisdom, and his honest self devotion."

Captain Hill, with whom Charnock was in partnership was one who sharked all he could, old or young, particularly the young in accordance with the ethics of the day, for no mercy or consideration was shown to youngsters who were expected to look after themselves as if they were men. Those who criticised or complained in any company had to look out for squalls, and in Hill's haunt, they were either beaten-up by the sergeant, or, if their social position entitled them to that consideration, honored by being challenged to fight a duel with the proprietor. He was unpopular not so much on account of his tavern but because he had "let his wife turn Papist without control."

Job Charnock spent nearly thirty-seven years in India before he died on January 10, 1692 or 1693. Like all great men various stories are told about him, the most popular being his rescue of an Indian widow from the funeral pile, and his affection for her which led him to sacrifice a cock on her grave on the anniversary of her death. As she was a Hindu it is a thousand to one that she was cremated but it is characteristic of human nature that the more such fables range from the improbable to the incredible, the more they grip the imagination. It is possible that the Hindu widow and the tavern story are both fiction, but on £40 a year, if he did try to make a bit beyond his pay well—why not?

In 1671-2 "It is likewise ordered and declared hereby that no Victualler, Punch-house, or other house of Entertainment shall not be permitted to make stopages at the pay day of their wages."

A reference to Calcutta inns and taverns is found in the 1688 records when Mrs. Francis, "wife of the late Lieutenant Francis killed at Hoogly by the Moors made it her petition that she might keep a punch-house for her maintenance."

The Rev. J. Long, in "Selections from Records of the Government of India refers to "Outrages on Seamen, and to the Apollo Tavern in Lall Bazaar, where the President and Governor of Fort William held a Consultation on December 12th 1748.

One can picture how these worthies and unworthies passed their days, and learn how the old hands jeered at the footling life led by those younger than themselves compared with the luxury of years gone by.

In a letter from *An Old Country Captain* in the *India Gazette* of February 24 1781, he writes:—"I am an Old stager in this Country, having arrived in Calcutta in the Year 1736. . . . Those were the days, when Gentlemen studied *Ease* instead of Fashions; even when the Hon. Members of the Council met in Banyan Shirts, Long Drawers," (q.v.) (which covered the feet as a precaution against mosquitos) "and Conjee caps; with a case bottle of good old Arrack, and a Gouglet of Water placed on the Table, which the Secretary (a Skilful Hand) frequently converted into Punch. . . ."

In 1758 J. Tresham established a tavern in Meredith's Lane, a dirty gully off Bentinck Street, and next door to Meredith's stables. That thoroughfare, one gharry wide, even in the 1880's and 1890's took a bit of beating for dirt and stench. Whatever detractors may say, it must be admitted that Calcutta has never been so clean and wholesome as it is today.

As can be imagined, Tresham's Tavern was a place where "Hosts of flies filled the rooms and never seem to have left them except to repair now and then to adjoining muckheaps for a change of air." A resident, writing home said he was staying in a tavern where

". . . . while the butter's melting,
The flies eat up the cake."

Mr. William Parkes wrote on June 21, 1762 "acquainting the Board that he had purchased a garden house which he intended for the resort of the gentry of Calcutta" and asking for a license."

"This was granted on condition that it was not to be open in the morning as the Board were afraid that it would be the means of keeping people from doing their duty."

"Long's Selections from the Unpublished Records of the Government of India," Vol. 1, No. 579.

"Garden Houses" seem to have been of the nature of rural taverns a "snare and a delusion to the young "writers" in the Company's service."

Some idea can be obtained about prices charged in the best of the taverns in 1780. A visitor wrote :—

"I was, en passant, shown a tavern called the London Hotel where entertainments are furnished at the moderate price of a gold mohur a head, exclusive of the dessert and wines. At the coffee house your single dish of coffee costs you a rupee (half a crown) ; which half crown however franks you to the perusal of the English newspapers, which are regularly arranged on a file as in London."

With the Calcutta Maidan a swamp, the jungle up to Chowringhee, and the stagnant water in the moat of Fort William, the sufferings of newcomers from the attacks of insects must have been unendurable. A soldier complained "what with the hum of the mosquito above, and the bug in the bed below, I am regularly humbugged out of my night's rest."

The general custom was—"after dinner the company sit round in the middle of the room, talk in whispers and scratch their mosquito bites."

A new arrival in this "gasping Empire" wrote to the "Bengal Gazette" on August 12, 1780 :—

"Where Music (different from the Notes,
That warble from Italian Throats)
With ceaseless din assails—
Where crows by Day, and Frogs by Night,
Incessant foes of calm delight
Croak their discordant Lays.
"Where insects settle on your meat,
Where Scorpions crawl beneath your Feet
And deadly snakes infest,
Mosquitos ceaseless teasing sound
And Jackals direful howls confound
Destroy your balmy rest."

Apparently insects were not the only pests. "At the Inn I was tormented to death by the impertinent, persevering of the black people : for every one is a beggar, as long as you are reckoned a griffin, or a new-comer."

"Life of Leyden," 1808.

In the 1780's the Harmonic Tavern in Lall Bazaar, Calcutta was the cold cream of social exaltation. The building was the handsomest house in the "Settlement" where Society reigned, and as some of those who may not have been eligible for admission put it "profligacy can be found tuning the lute."

Hicky's "Bengal Gazette" contained many references, and William Hickey thought much of the grandeur of the entertainments. It has been said that "pubs are havens for those people whose position in society is that of hanging suspended—like Mahomet's coffin—somewhere between the club and the bazaar." There was nothing of that about the Harmonic. Yet, as Dr. St. John Gogarty put it—"One of the advantages of a pub over a club is that you never know who may come into it. In a club you know only too well."

According to Mrs. Fay, who was in Calcutta when it was termed the "Settlement" (a palpable misnomer according to a young lady who sneered at the term—"I never was so unsettled in all my life,") Mrs. Warren Hastings was a patron, holding a sort of Court there.

Mrs. Fay goes on—"I felt far more gratified some time ago when Mrs. Jackson procured me a ticket for the Harmonic which was supported by a select number of gentlemen who each in alphabetical rotation gave a concert, ball, and supper, during the cold season ; I believe once a fortnight—that I attended was given by a Mr. Taylor, which closed the subscription, and I understand it will not be renewed, a circumstance generally regretted as it was an elegant amusement and conducted on a very eligible plan. We had a great deal of delightful music, and Lady C—— who is a capital performer on the harpsichord played amongst other pieces a Sonata of Nicolai's in a most brilliant style."

"Mrs. H—— (Mrs. Warren Hastings) was of the party ; she came in late, and happened to place herself on the opposite side of the room, beyond a speaking distance, so, strange to tell, I quite forgot she was there ! After some time had elapsed, my observant friend Mrs. J—— who had been impatiently watching my looks, asked if I had paid my respects to the Lady Governess ? I answered in the negative, having had no opportunity, as she had not chanced to look towards me when I was prepared to do so. "Oh, 'replied the kind old lady,' you must fix your eyes on her and never take them off' till she notices you ; Miss C—— has done this and so have I ; it is absolutely necessary to avoid giving offence. I soon followed her prudent advice and was soon honoured with a complacent glance, which I returned as became me by a most respectful bend. Not long after she walked over to our side and conversed very affably with me, for we are now through Mrs. Jackson's interference on very good terms together." (January 1781).

William Hickey refers to the Harmonic in his memoirs, proud of having filled his friends right up to the brim.

"Having partaken of several entertainments given at the tavern by Captain Sutton and other gentlemen, I thought it incumbent upon me to return the compliment, and accordingly bespoke the handsomest dinner that could be provided for forty at the Harmonic Tavern. On the day appointed thirty-nine sat down to table, all of whom did ample justice to the feast, and drank freely, some of my guests remaining till three in the morning, when they staggered home, well pleased with their fare and declaring I was an admirable host."

Vol. II, p. 137.

Francis Le Gallais had a tavern near the Harmonic where, in 1775, Richard Barwell "required his friends to join him every fortnight," and at one of his gatherings G. F. Grand was engaged on the night Philip Francis invaded his household. During the notable trial of Nanda Kumar, Le Gallais provided for the lawyers "and those whom they should invite" "eight dinners and

nine suppers for 16 persons each" for which he charged Rs. 629. (*Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. 14, p. 216).

As that appears to work out to about Rs. 2/4 per head, the charge was about the same as it might be today.

One of Le Gallais's advertisements ran as follows ;—

"FRANCES LE GALLAIS"

"BEGS leave to Acquaint the Ladies and Gentlemen of the settlement that he continues baking Bread, Cakes, and Bunns &, and will receive Orders as usual for putting up the same kind of fine Butter, Rusks, Biscuit, and flower for the Ladies and Gentlemen that proposes going home."

Le Gallais catered for the big dinners of the times. On New Year's Day of 1789, "a respectable and numerous company dined with His Lordship at the Old Court House . . . and after a repast on turtle, turkies, and other good things, drank the loyal toasts in the usual manner."

The "usual manner" often meant an accompaniment by the Grenadiers of the European regiment in Fort William, who fired volleys of blank cartridge out of the windows.

Le Gallais appears to have met with occasional bad luck, for, after one of his dinners a correspondent wrote, "We cannot say anything in favour of the supper, but unwilling to say anything against it, as the *traiteur*, Mr. Le Gallais, has in general deserved praise, and a single failure may have been accidental."

And when the difficulties that had to be overcome are appreciated it is a wonder complaints were not more general.

The poet-prophet Omar Kjayam said, 800 years ago:—"In the four parts of the earth are many that are able to write learned books, many that are able to lead armies and many also that are able to govern kingdoms and empires: but few there are that can keep hotel."

160 years ago the trade in oysters appears to have been well organised. Not only were they brought up for the table but shipments of thousands of what were called "Pearl Oysters" came to Calcutta as a gambling venture. Well, it has long been possible to obtain both pearls and peritonitis from them, but they must have been popular, risky though they were for Creighton of the Harmonic Tavern advertised in 1784 accommodation for gentlemen, also that he had "an additional well for oysters." A later advertisement (1875) seems to show there was more in the oyster trade than is found in the shell.

"As Mr. Creighton has advanced considerable sums of money to people concerned in the oyster business, for the sole purpose of procuring him oysters, he is sorry to inform them that he is obliged to advance the price from this date for those oysters that are sent out of the Harmonic, owing to his people disposing of them to such persons as wait on the river, and deprive him of what in reality is his property; as he is reduced from the above

motives to the necessity of re-purchase, he hopes it will be a sufficient apology to the public."

In the Gazette of November 17, 1784, he boasts of a "new method of preserving and cleansing oysters to as to render them of a fine flavour, and give them preference above any ever brought to this place," recommending some "good cask porter". He was also in need of Turtles and "any person having such to dispose of, may hear of a purchaser on applying to Mr. Creighton at the new Tavern."

An advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* of February 26, 1788 was to the effect that he "proposes to open the rooms of the Old Court House at 9 o'clock in the evening of Thursday, the 5th March, for a Fancy Ball."

Le Gallais must have been comparatively an old resident for he had been in the tavern business sixteen years when he died on August 22nd. 1791. His widow carried on the catering after his death. St. Andrew's Day Dinner, probably the first held in Calcutta, took place in his tavern in 1792.

"On May 31st 1792 a meeting was held at Le Gallais Tavern when it was determined to raise subscriptions for the erection of a public building for the "general accommodation of the settlement." This was apparently the future Town Hall of Calcutta. . . . At the same time there was a lottery for the benefit of the funds of the proposed building; it numbered 5000 tickets at 60 sicca rupees each, of which 1331 were prizes amounting to three lakhs of rupees and 3669 blanks.

Another Town Hall Lottery was advertised in 1805; the third was drawn on January 26 1807, and the fourth during the same year. That was for Rs. 7,50,000 of which Rs. 6,60,000 were to go for prizes, 15,000 to the charges of the lottery leaving a balance of Rs. 75,000 to the fund for the construction of the Town Hall.

Geo. W. Johnson says, "The Town Hall is the most classic-looking structure within the bounds of the city; but there is a tablet in the walls, which may be considered as sacred to the memory of the 500,000 rupees (£50,000) which *departed* during its erection, not to mention all the extravagance of which it had been the occasion, for here are held all the public dinners and balls, not of rare occurrence, and which, for their excellence and unvarying price, have obtained the title of "The Gold Mohur Festivals."

"Mr. ROBERT RISHTON

BEGS leave to acquaint the Gentlemen of the Settlement, that at the desire of his Friends, he has opened a tavern in the Radha Bazaar, next to Mr. Fivey's Europe Shop, where he hopes for the further continuance of their favours. He also embraces this Opportunity of expressing his thanks to the Public in general, for the favours and countenances he has met with, and to assure them, that it will be his principal study to give satisfaction to those who may be pleased to continue their favours.

N.B. Oysters every Week. February 10th. 1781."

On the same page of *Hicky's Bengal Gazette*, Robert Harvey advertised, "the best Country Rum at one rupee eight annas per gallon wholesale, and one rupee ten annas, retail."

After the Harmonic in Lall Bazar closed down the London Tavern was opened in Vansittart Row, on the south side of "Tank Square." An advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* October 7. 1784, announces—

"Messrs Martin Lacy and Parr, Masters of the London Tavern most humbly present their respects to the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Settlement and take the liberty of informing them that they have opened a Subscription for the Assembly, once a fortnight, during the next cold weather to begin on Tuesday, the 23rd November next, and to continue every 2nd Tuesday, provided there shall be 150 Subscribers." They added—"They flatter themselves with the hopes of some encouragement and support from a generous Public, when they solemnly declare that they did not know the Harmonic Tavern would be again opened as a Tavern when they contracted with a builder, about two months ago, to erect a large and commodious Assembly Room, ninety-six feet long and thirty-six feet wide."

A writer in letter dated 21st October, 1784, recommended the establishment of a Ranelagh, or Vauxhall, and a coffee-house modelled after the manner of the Chapter Coffee-house in London. He said he had observed with delight the rapid progress made in all polite and refined entertainments, and declared that "Calcutta, in the elegance of its amusements, and the fashionable style in which they are carried on, will shortly vie with most of the cities, even in Europe."

His suggestion did not appear to have been successful. The out-door Vauxhall was a failure from the start. In 1785 the proprietors of the London Tavern tried an in-door Vauxhall, and laid out their "large and extensive rooms" in a rural style, with "several rural walks diversified, they trust, with taste and fancy," and "several alcoves conveniently interspersed in them, where there will always be ready prepared the best cold collation." A band of music, as good as could be provided, was to attend for the entertainment of the company. And "the accommodations will be so arranged that a variety of parties may enjoy themselves without mixing with others, or being subject to the intrusion usual at public places of amusement." Even this attractive scheme did not prosper.

A Mr. Gairard advertised another outdoor Vauxhall for December 8 1786 with "music champetre" playing in different parts of the gardens, garden walls illuminated at nine; and a convenient place appropriated for carriages and palankeens in the gardens? Ladies and gentlemen might "amuse themselves at the agreeable exercise of throwing out small rockets &c., to win prizes."

Two years later on December 4, 1788, he was again before the public as a promotor of this style of entertainment. But he was warned by a correspondent in the 'Calcutta Gazette' of December 7, that "he had better fulfil his engagements this time, as the public will not be as passive as they were on the last occasion."

The proposed coffee house did not come to anything. There was no building in Calcutta suitable for public meetings ; a public exchange and coffee room was only seriously promoted in 1788.

Another advertisement is interesting showing that children were not overworked at school :—

“M. SOUBIE”

“BEGS leave to inform the Gentlemen of the Settlement, that he has left Mr. Le Gallais and now keeps his school at the Harmonic, where he attends, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, from seven in the Morning till half past Ten o’Clock.”

In addition to the hotels down the river, there appears to have been others up stream. Warren Hastings had a house at Serampore, a house Shirley Tremearne of “Capital” lived in for a time, and is now part of the Hastings Jute Mills. Those who could afford it had swift boats with ten oars that must have made good time between Calcutta and Serampore ; others, of course, could ride part of the way on the Calcutta side of the Hooghly and cross the river in the neighbourhood of Chanak, now called Barrackpore.

“SIRAMPORE TAVERN”

“CHARLES MATON having taken the house near the Water side, lately occupied by Major Briton, and fitted up the same as a Tavern and Hotel, Respectfully acquaints the Gentlemen of Calcutta, that they may depend on every possible accommodation, good Provisions, and the best of Liquors. Beds also may be had, and Boarding, on Reasonable Terms.

N.B. A very good Billiard Table and skittle Ground.

In 1802 Messrs. Gammidge and Saunders set up a tavern and farm at Fultah, 25 miles below Calcutta. During the Napoleonic wars a French fleet was feared and “orders were given that at Fultah the chain should every evening be laid across the river.” The tavern was advertised to be “By no means disgraceful to the most improved style of architecture. A number of captains and travellers of consequence land here, taking their departure of their various destinations in India.”

Apparently the establishment was well run for a while in 1813, after dwelling upon the dreary prospect of the river banks, added “At Fultah, however, a few hours may be very agreeably spent at a tavern kept by Messrs. Higginson and Baldwin, where the passenger will meet with good accommodation and be able to recruit his spirits after a fatiguing trip.”

In 1814, the year before Waterloo, Fultah tavern was again in the market. It was frequently stated to have eventually come into the hands of David Wilson, who ran it as the Auckland Hotel, and later, as trade declined, transferred the business to Calcutta. That can hardly be possible, judging by the fact that Wilson was in active business in Calcutta in 1862.

Colonel Sherer had this to say about taverns :—

"In India there are some houses of public entertainment ; but to speak generally, they are not considered respectable, nor are they, except under a pressing necessity resorted to by gentlemen. This is not so strange as it first appears, nor does it arise from the hospitality of our countrymen in India, which, great as it allowedly is, has much less influence over this state of things than they perhaps imagine. It is right to clear this up, because a gentleman and a traveller landing at Calcutta, without letters of introduction would find himself much at a loss, and placed, moreover, in rather a mortifying situation. Our connection with India is not a Colonial one. We have settlements on the coasts ; but we rule over an empire by the agency of native servants and soldiers, who are subjected to the authority and guidance of governors, generals, collectors, judges, and other officers, civil and military ; *all British*, and of British appointment. It is never, therefor, that gentlemen in the service of the Company can land at any of the Presidencies without an appointed place to go to."

"King's officers have their barracks ; merchants their correspondents ; captains of ships their friends, or the purchasers of their investments, or else they hire houses ; and to individuals of any of these classes, if they have private letters to a protector, his doors are thrown open here, as they would be elsewhere at a distance from the mother-country. Taverns, therefore, are principally resigned to such merchant ship-officers, of junior rank, as get a few days' leave on shore, and have no other resource. The necessary consequence is, they pay extravagantly, and fare badly."

Colonel Sherer was in Calcutta in 1819. His book is "Sketches of India written by an Officer for Fire-side Travellers at Home." (1825) p. 91-93.

On 1st. July, 1798, the Calcutta Exchange Coffee House, now the Royal Exchange, was opened for "all gentlemen, merchants, and traders."

All the newspapers printed in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, also two of the most approved London papers, and any curious political pamphlets were to be kept on files.

"An active and experienced person who shall at the same time carry on the tavern business," was to be in charge. The subscription was to be four rupees a month paid monthly.

In this case the "experienced person" knew more than the promoter. Money and experience often change hands. But the Royal Exchange does not mean the Stock Exchange, which is quite a different place. There, the cards are first sorted in the coal hole and players of to-day are expected to believe themselves lucky if all they get out of a deal is the shuffle.

When the XVIIIth. Century was "one off game" the Exchange Coffee House was advertised for disposal. After but one year's trading, "to satisfy a number of claimants who are not in circumstances to afford delay," it was decided to raise the money by a lottery, 1,600 chances at Rs. 100 each.

The scheme, detailed in "Bengal Past and Present," is well worth reading. One feels that if the unfortunate promoter did not know sufficient to run

an Exchange, he knew how to make a lottery attractive. Were such a proposal put before the Calcutta public to-day it would be filled in no time.

Captain Thomas Williamson, in his "East Indian Guide and Vade Mecum" (1810) said there was no hotel in Calcutta but a number of taverns which are "either of the first rate, at which public dinners are occasionally given, or they are of that mean description which receives all who have a rupee to spend, under the determination of extracting that rupee in some shape or other. The former class is very confined in numbers, but the latter are abundantly numerous, and may be readily distinguished by the promiscuous company, the shabbiness of the treatment, and the excess of imposition imposed, especially on novices."

"In all sea-ports, taverns or punch-houses are more frequented than in places where shipping lies in some distant road or harbour. This occasions them to be more respectable in the opinions of those who keep them, but nothing could reconcile a gentleman, long resident in the country, to seek accommodation among them. It would imply a total want of respectable connexions; and, in itself, appear a sufficient cause for avoiding his acquaintance."

Strangers were recommended—

"He who is not a Company's servant, and is so unfortunate as to possess no letter of introduction, is advised to resort to one of the European shopkeepers in Calcutta, among whom are some most respectable characters, men distinguished for their urbanity, philanthropy and generosity. To one of them the case should be candidly stated and, in order to inspire confidence, a deposit of money should be made, either with them, or at one of the banks. The consequences will be that in a few hours some small tenement will be obtained, either on hire or granted as temporary accommodation and the whole of the articles really necessary will be provided at one or the other auctions which daily take place within the central parts of the town."

Apparently tavern keepers worked hand in hand with the police—Barrabas in partnership with Ananias—never failing "to enquire whether the gentleman has any friends in town, or even in the country? If affirmatively answered, "mine Host" feels himself tolerably secure of his money: but will probably assert that the friend in town is out of the way, and will not be back for some days—Should the gentleman be totally destitute of friends, then comes the rich harvest. Imposition following imposition swells the bill; which, if appearances warrant forbearance, is kept back as long as possible under the pleasing assurance of perfect confidence. In the end, however, a catalogue of items is produced, which never fails to alarm, if not to ruin the unsuspecting victim."

"Should, unhappily, the guest so far lower himself as to associate with the ordinary company of the common drinking-room, he is irretrievably gone. Quarrels, riots and inebriety follow, till, in all probability, he becomes subject to the notice of the police. Should his face ever be seen at that office, his admission into any respectable circle would be next to impossible. What

with lodging, dinner, wines, &c. of the worst description but all rated at the highest prices, he must be fortunate who escapes under a gold mohur (two guineas) per day. Double that sum is generally charged so that a person starts at the rate of £1000 per annum, at least ; while in all probability, no established, or even apparent, provision exists, whereby he may be maintained."

"Add the allurements held out by the sable beauties, who will contrive means to retail their charms so long as they think money is to be had, and no trifling expense will be incurred. Some fellow who can speak English and thoroughly understands whatever relates to the interest of the concern, which, among other things, includes thieving, lying, cheating, pimping, &c. is employed to delude the unwary stranger. The first essay is ordinarily made by describing the elegance of native women, and their great perfection as singers and dancers ; and rarely fails, especially with youths under such circumstances, to excite something more than curiosity. The dancing-girls are introduced, and so many fatal consequences follow, that nothing can be more dangerous than this irregular indulgence; it never failing, first to drain the purse, and in a few days or weeks, the constitution also."

Another writer speaks even more plainly about those days of ruin and sudden death.

"Besides a universal rapacity there was a prevalent and odious looseness of manner among those desperate adventurers who "whistled down the wind to prey at fortune" and whom England, in the emphatic language of the Scriptures had "spued out ;" men who sought those golden sands of the East to repair their broken fortunes ; to bury in oblivion a sullied name ; or to wring, with lawless hand, from the weak and unsuspecting, wealth which they had not the courage of the capacity to obtain by honest industry at home. They cheated, they gambled, they drank ; they revelled in all kinds of debauchery ; though associates in vice linked together by a common bond of rapacity, they often pursued one another with desperate malice, and, few though they were in numbers, among them there was no unity, except a unity of crime." "The fullest scope was given for the misconduct of such persons by the corporate immorality of the early companies ; and so we may suppose what a paradise (for scoundrels) the country must have been when the Abbe Raynal considered the "English to be the best of the Europeans in India." But in most countries in Europe criminals generally died of old age.

No wonder they shocked and astonished the unsophisticated Indians who, at any rate, have good manners. Government possibly made occasional efforts at control and punished offences with extreme severity, but when every man was out for his own hand, few troubled about the extortions and exactions of tavern keepers. And they were not all saints who came for board and lodging either and a succession of rogues will harden any heart. Perhaps the best that can be said about "mine host" of those days was, so far as interest in a stranger went, the tavern keeper was in all three Presi-

dencies equally heartless and unscrupulous when dealing with the young. The Bible tells us what the mentality was 2000 years ago, it being thought remarkable enough to put on record the fact that Jesus Christ had said—"Suffer little children to come unto me." One who has never been a Boy Scout pays tribute to Lord Baden Powell, a man for whom no reward is too great, who has taught parents to honour their children and effected reforms that were thousands of years overdue.

Dr. Walford, in his "Autobiography of an Indian Army Surgeon" relates that on his return from the (First) Burma War he thought he would invest his scanty savings, finding himself in contact with rascally sharepushers (how little has Calcutta changed in that respect!) which led him to assault one of the crooks in that firm. (In that respect Calcutta has deteriorated.) The law case that followed took all his money and the Gazette contained the announcement that "Wilmington Walford is suspended from rank, pay, and allowances for the space of two years."

In a few months his landlord turned him out, ruined, and with but one rupee left, wet, bedraggled and muddy, he made his way to a punch house somewhere off Lall Bazaar. "Two steps, and descending these, led me into a low, damp apartment, lighted at the further and darker end by a couple of "chirags." Placing his rupee on the table he was given eight annas change and shewn to a room "some steps lower than the last, and damper. The steam of Calcutta ran down the mildewed walls and a wrecked charpoy was pointed out as the bed." "Cockroaches crept over me as swiftly as a sunbeam through a chink, or attracted by the light struck me with a click; rats left their drains. One more sprightly than the rest crept up the leg of my pantaloons. I knew what rats were on a transport when fresh water was hoarded and they wandered about all night in search of it."

After a dreadful night he walked down to the river for a bath, buying on the way "a handful of dates at a bazaar stand where flies and hornets held revelry."

That was his experience of a Calcutta Punch House and it was pleasant to read that he eventually obtained an appointment in a big ship bound for China, and, on his return, found that he had been re-instated in Government service.

W. H. Carey, in the "Good Old Days of the Honorable John Company" states that in 1780 "Drunkenness, gambling, and profane swearing were universally practised." Complaints in public journals testified that Europeans of all classes made Christmas festivities a "plea for absolute drunkenness and obscenity of conversation, that is while they were able to articulate at all."

Apparently so far as taverns went, the same story might be told about all three Presidencies. Philip Anderson, in his book explains—

"Possibly it may occur to the reader, as it has occurred to the writer, that the *dramatis personae*. . . . are all men of bad character; that I only present offensive details which are relieved by no examples of goodness and honour. I can only say that I represent the matter faithfully as recorded by

the best authorities of the age. Vices were then trifles ; to be corrupt and to corrupt others was the fashion. I do not find anything good in the local annals either written or printed. As soon as I do, it will be a pleasure to serve up what must be more agreeable to "the gentle reader" than depreciatory strictures. In the meanwhile it is not my fault, if nausea is created by a surfeit of disgraceful anecdotes." (p. 158.)

But there were others. "In the travels of John Mandelslo we have an account of a dinner given by the Indian governor of Ahmedabad to his Dutch and English friends, at which the amusement was nautch dancing, performed by twenty girls. When these had danced themselves out, the host sent for another set, who, in refusing to come, were dragged into the presence, and as a punishment for their insolence, beheaded on the spot before the European guests."

That conditions have improved during the last hundred years can be gauged by my own experiences. In 1883 I landed at Calcutta. Since then, whether in cheap boarding houses, dak bungalows, or hotels I have never been robbed of anything except by my own countrymen. What is more I have never been really sharked in an hotel. Further, I have been twenty times to Europe, travelled in twentyone different lines of steamers, and had nothing stolen. During all my time in India I have had a servant, or servants, whose miserable pay has never been much more than sufficient to buy enough food to keep them from starvation, and, when I have been ill, they stayed with me day and night anxious to do all they could to save my life. How many who have been strangers in a strange land can say the same about Europe or America?

In "Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan" published in 1835 by Miss Emma Roberts she referred to the difficulties of travellers who had no friends in the city when they arrived.

"Formerly, strangers visiting Calcutta were dependent upon the hospitality of residents, or were compelled to take large unfurnished houses, there being neither lodging nor hotels for the reception of guests. But the capital of Bengal has become too large to admit of the continuance of old customs, so boarding and other houses of public entertainment have been opened, and conducted in so respectable a manner, that notwithstanding the great difficulty of subduing ancient prejudices, no person, however fastidious, can now scruple to become an inmate of them."

Previous to the opening of hotels she referred to the bad character of the taverns, and the absence of decent places for strangers to stay, it being "no uncommon circumstance for parties to remain at a Calcutta ghaut in a budgerow for a week at a time."

Sir Charles Petrie, in his book, the Four Georges, tells us how things were in England during the early part of the 18th Century.

"The inns, for example, had not yet begun to change their character. There were no bars, no set dinners, and no dining rooms, for these innovations did not come in until the reign of George II. Travellers of any social

distinction ordered what they liked, or, rather, what the house could supply, in their own rooms. . . . No charge was made for the use of the room, as the landlord reckoned to recoup himself out of the food and drink consumed, and the stabling. Poorer people, such as those who travelled in the carrier's wagon, gravitated towards the kitchen."

If strangers made that a practice on arrival in India the kitchen accommodation would have startled them out of their wits. Perhaps the difference between the two countries was not so very great, and even to-day, in many European houses, the kitchen is the centre of household neglect often too repellent for the Mem Sahit to visit.

Samuel Pepys relates how he, his wife and their friends laughed when they found themselves lousy after staying a night in an inn near London. Modern people would need something funnier than that before being amused.

Captain Bellew, in his *Memoirs of a Griffin*, gave some details of his experiences when landing as a Cadet about 1810.

Landing at the "Ghaut or landing place I went to the Custom House". . . . "Having arranged matters there, I proceeded through the thronged streets of Calcutta to a tavern or punchhouse, somewhere in the aristocratic region of Ranamooty Gully a sort of place of entertainment which, in those days . . . was quite infradig for a gentleman to visit. However, being a griff, I knew nothing of this, and if the case had been otherwise I should have been without an alternative. Dirty table cloths, well spotted with curry and mustard. Prawn curries, capital beef-steaks, a rickety, rusty, torn billiard table, on which, day and night, the balls were kept going, lots of *shippies*, and a dingy bed were the leading features of this establishment, not forgetting clouds of voracious and well-fleshed mosquitoes."

After three days of this Bellew obtained an advance of 150 sicca rupees and moved into "four bare walls and a pukka floor in the South Barracks of Fort William."

In 1830 hotel matters in Calcutta began to improve. John Spence pioneered a business movement which was long overdue. Mrs. Friend, wife of a ship captain kept a diary, extracts from which were published in the "Deal & Walmer Telegram" during October 1871, and subsequently appeared in the "Blue Peter." She states—

"Anchored off the town of Calcutta on 30th December 1830." She and her husband rented a house in Entally for a few weeks, and "1831. About a week before we left Calcutta we broke up housekeeping and went to Spence's Hotel, and on the 26th February we at length set off with a fair wind for dear England."

That, and other references, establish Spence's as the oldest hotel in Asia. It is still a going concern, in its original buildings, now 170 years old, buildings that cannot be long for this world. But it is a striking testimonial that a business could continue for so long in a land where a few monsoons were the life of a man, and when men didn't die they killed themselves. What hard-boiled Koi Hai's of 150 years ago would think were they put down

in the heart of Calcutta today, so far away from their wind boats, palanquins, arrack punch and 20-years-spells without Hills or Home leave, finding motor cars, electric fans, cold-storage, air-conditioning, and a trip Home in four days would be worth knowing. One can make sure that some of them would declare that Calcutta had gone to the devil.

But, take it from me, gentle reader—the tomfoolery of talk about the good old days is much like most of the history we are taught—just lies or shameless distortions. “What is hit is history ; what is missed is mystery.”

“For olden times let other prate ;
I deem it lucky I was born so late.”

H. HOBBS.

Forgotten Governors in the "Bay of Bengal" and at "Fort William" in Calcutta. 1713—52.

"THEIR NAMES SHALL LIVE FOR EVER".

IT was sometime during the later half of 1934 when I made efforts to locate the site of the graves of five Governors in Bengal, who died between 1717 and 1752, and were buried in the present churchyard of St. John's Church in Council House Street. All efforts to trace the plan of this old burying-ground, for the purpose of locating the site of their graves, proved futile, but from records I was convinced, that there were no doubts, that their remains were interred somewhere in the western portion of this churchyard. It is also evident that the graves were among the many tottering tombs which had fallen into a state of irreparable decay, a little before the commencement of 1802, and in consequence were demolished by the Reverend David Brown, then chaplain of this church. In this connection we are told, that this act of desecration on his part, gave great umbrage to the Christian population of the city.

Determined however to do what was possible to resuscitate the memory of these Governors, I called on Archdeacon Birch Chaplain of St. John's Church, who was interested and forwarded the information I gave him to the Government of Bengal. Early during the following year, he asked if I could give other details to justify my previous writings. This led me to prove conclusively that the mortal remains of the Governors lie at rest alongside one of the lonely walks of the churchyard.

Readers of this journal may be interested to know, that my efforts have not been in vain. The Government of Bengal has placed a grey marble slab on the north wall of the Vestibule of St. John's Church, bearing the following inscription :—

Close to this church
are interred

The Mortal Remains of the following Presidents
and Governors of Fort William in Bengal.

ROBERT HEDGES,

(Nephew of Sir William Hedges, First Governor in the Bay of Bengal).

Assumed office, December 3rd, 1713.

Died December 28th, 1717.

HENRY FRANKLAND

(Great-grandson of the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell)

Assumed office, January 30th, 1726.

Died August 23rd, 1728.

JOHN STACKHOUSE

Assumed office, February 25th, 1732.

Buried, September 28th, 1741.

JOHN FOSTER

Assumed office, February 4th, 1745.

Buried, March 27th, 1748.

WILLIAM FYTCHE

Assumed office, July 5th, 1752.

Died, August 8th, 1752.

The following notes may be of interest:—

1. ROBERT HEDGES, was the nephew of Sir William Hedges, the first Governor in the Bay of Bengal, being the son of his only brother Robert Hedges of Burras in Queen's Country, Ireland. Robert, we are told, arrived at the settlement of Sutanuti on 29th August 1710, as Second on the Council and in a very short space of three years, he succeeded John Russell, as Governor in the Bay of Bengal, on 3rd December, 1713.

This office he held for a brief period of a little over four years, for it is stated, that he passed away between the hours of 6 to 7 P.M. on Saturday, 28th December, 1717 after an illness of nine days. It is very probable, that he was buried the same night, as it was not an uncommon practice during those early days, to bury at night with the aid of lighted torches.

In connection with his death, he seems to have made rather a strange request in his Will, dated 26th December 1717, concerning his grave, for in it he directed his Trustees thus:—

"But will not have any monument built over my grave in Calcutta".

This unusual choice of his, arose it is said from the fact, that the burying-ground which had been in use from about 1692 had already by this time, become far too over-crowded with large tombs of masonry.

2. HENRY FRANKLAND born in 1684 was the great-grandson of the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, and the fourth son of Thomas Frankland and his wife Elizabeth. His mother Elizabeth, a sister of John Russell, Governor in the Bay 1711-1713, was the daughter of Sir John Russell and Lady Frances, the latter lady being the youngest and favourite daughter of Oliver Cromwell.

Henry it is stated arrived at Sutanuti on 14th January 1709 and on 25th February 1715 he married at St. Anne's Church, Mary, the daughter of Alexander Cross, a merchant in Bengal. From 1713 to 1714 he acted as Governor of Fort William and from 1718 to 1719 was a Warden of St. Anne's church. Having by this time amassed a large fortune, he resigned the Company's service on 19th January 1719 and sailed for England with his family in the "GRANTHAM", East Indiaman.

Sometime in 1722 we find he rejoined the Company's service and with his younger brother Robert, sailed for India in the ship "DEVONSHIRE". The following year, at his own request, he was sent to Cassim Bazar as Chief of the factory (a position in those days, second only to the Governorship of Fort William) and three years later, on Sunday 30th January 1726, he succeeded John Deane, as Governor of Fort William in Bengal.

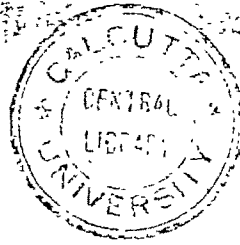
This office he held for a little less than two years, as after a brief illness of twelve days he passed away at 1st A.M. on Friday 23rd August 1728 and was buried the following evening, most probably by the Rev. Gervas Bellamy (a victim of the "Black Hole") who at that time was the Senior chaplain of St. Anne's church. His wife and family sailed for England the following year on the Company's ship "WALPOLE".

3. JOHN STACKHOUSE. Very little information is available concerning this gentleman and John Foster and even less concerning William Fytche. John Stackhouse we are told arrived at the settlement on 17th August 1710 and on 17th June 1717 he married at St. Anne's church Elizabeth, the daughter of Captain Henry Harnett. This lady died six years later, on 4th February 1723 and was buried in St. John's church-yard. John it is stated, was Warden of St. Anne's from 1721 till about 1724.

On 27th August 1727, four years after the death of his wife, he married Ann, the widow of Henry Harnett (Junior) and on 25th February 1732 he succeeded John Deane, as Governor of Fort William. This office he relinquished in 1738, but for several years continued to reside at the Settlement. There is no record of the date of his death, but it is stated that he was buried on 28th September, 1741.

4. JOHN FOSTER arrived here on 19th July 1718 on the Company's ship "GRANTHAM" and on 4th February 1745 he was appointed Governor of Fort William in succession to Thomas Bradyll. Two years later, on 6th March 1747, he married at St. Anne's church, Miss. Alice Patterson.

There is no record of the date of his death but he was buried on 27th March 1748.



The Influence of Sher Shah Sur on the Islamic Architecture of India.

CONSTRUCTED under the orders of the Afghan family of the house of Suri, chiefly by its principal member Sher Shah who ruled at Delhi towards the middle of the sixteenth century, are two different groups of buildings in entirely separate localities, each of which illustrates in a most significant manner the development of the art of building in the Islamic style. In the first instance the tombs of the Suri family at Sasaram in Bihar mark the final phase of a type of architecture as this culminated during the ascendancy of the Sayyids and Lodis at Delhi. On the other hand in what is known as the Purana Qila at Delhi, and particularly in its mosque, the Qila-i-Kuhna, with one or two other buildings all executed by Sher Shah Sur, we not only see examples of architecture of a very distinctive character, but these structures also provide a connecting link between the declining productions of the Delhi Sultanate, and the subsequent magnificent flowering of the Islamic building art under the dynasty of the Mughuls.

Several of the Muslim rulers of India have exercised a marked personal influence on the style of architecture that flourished under their authority. So much so that in some of the examples at Delhi representing the imperial development, and also in the productions of the provincial rulers, the impress of an aesthetic individuality is very noticeable. Among these mention may be made of Qutb-ud-din of the Slave dynasty, and Firuz Tughlaq, both of whose monuments at Delhi stand out on account of their style being of an exceptionally personal character. Later, there is no mistaking in the productions of the Mughuls the influence of Akbar with his indigenous propensities expressed in red sandstone, or of Shah Jahan and the feeling for sumptuousness displayed in his arcades of white marble picked out in gold. Turning to the provincial movements the spirit of Ahmed Shah lingers over the great mosque at Ahmedabad outside which lies the marble tomb of this ruler, while the power of Begarah of the same dynasty is observable in his vast ruined capital at Champanir.

But none of these royal patrons of the building art appeared on the scene at a more decisive juncture than the Afghan ruler Sher Shah when he mounted the throne at Delhi in 1538. As far as the sphere of architecture was concerned the occasion was one of those rare instances of the right man appearing at the right moment, for Sher Shah assumed power at Delhi at a time when only intelligent encouragement and an aesthetic outlook could save the Islamic style of architecture in Upper India if not from oblivion at

least from a dangerous period of inertia. What is surprising is that so much was achieved in such a short space of time, as Sher Shah reigned at Delhi only for six years, and the succeeding members of the dynasty failed to continue his architectural schemes.

The architectural movement here referred to resolves itself into four parts. In the first place there is the state of the building art in northern India as this existed under the predecessors of the Sur dynasty, in other words, its condition as maintained under the rule of the Lodis. Secondly it is necessary to realize the architectural ideals of Sher Shah Sur, his personal aims and objects, of which there are literary and other contemporary records. Thirdly there are these ideals as they materialized under his patronage, *i.e.*, the buildings of his period, and lastly, and of special significance is the effect these buildings had on the style that followed, that is to say their influence on the subsequent architectural development of the Mughuls.

As regards the first of these divisions of the subject, the character of the building art in the first half of the sixteenth century as this existed under Islamic authority in Upper India, there are evidences that this was approaching a state of decline. It is hardly necessary to emphasize that such a condition was in a large measure due to the political circumstances that then prevailed. Owing to a variety of causes during much of the fifteenth century and in the early years of the sixteenth the imperial power at Delhi, under the dynasties of the Sayyids and Lodis had been of an unsubstantial nature. This is shown in the type of building erected during their period. In other words under the diminishing influence of these two royal houses, all forms of constructive enterprise languished, and what architecture was produced reflects the weakening spirit of the time. Unlike the period of sovereignty of the earlier sultanates such as the Tughluqs and, before them, the Khaljis, no great structural undertakings are recorded, no capital cities were founded, no imperial palaces, no fortresses or strongholds were created, no mosques of importance, no colleges, and no public buildings were erected. It is significant that almost the only form of monument that appealed to the rulers and their Court officials at this juncture were those expressive of dissolution—they excelled in memorials to the dead. At perhaps in no other period has the tomb been more manifest in the consciousness of the people than during the reign of the Sayyids and Lodis, so much so that Delhi and its environs were converted into a vast necropolis. Most of the battered domed buildings that are strewn in such profusion among the ruins of ancient Delhi are tombs built during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. That some of these are monuments of style and distinction one cannot deny, such as the royal mausoleums of Mubarak Sayyid, Muhammed Sayyid, and Sikander Lodi, although as a whole they are not particularly inspiring works of architecture. But some of them illustrate rather a special type of tomb the chief characteristic of which is the octagonal plan, a shape which, as will be shown, was to be developed by Sher Shah at Sasaram in a very splendid manner.

The foregoing presents a brief outline of the state of the building art as it was being practised in Upper India when the founders of the Mughul

dynasty, the emperors Babur and Humayun were endeavouring to consolidate their kingdom on the disintegrating foundations of the Delhi Sultanate. For both these rulers conditions were not sufficiently stable to enable them to make any notable contributions to the building productions of their time. Humayun however is recorded to have founded a new city of Delhi which he called *Dinpanah* or "World-refuge", but practically nothing of this now remains, and the few other structures built by this ruler bear no special character. It is true that at Delhi there is Humayun's magnificent Mausoleum, one of the finest buildings of its kind, but its creation was due to the enterprise of his distinguished widow, Haji Begum, and was accordingly raised after his death. To sum up it is no exaggeration to say that to all intents and purposes the practice of intelligent and significant building construction approached in the first half of the sixteenth century a state of suspended animation.

It was at this decisive stage in the evolution of the building art that the Afghan ruler Sher Shah appears on the scene, and a brief account of his personality in this connection may be useful. There are proofs of his determination to make himself an ideal administrator of the territory that destiny, and his own right arm, had put him in possession, and that he was one of the greatest of the Moslem rulers of India with broad and practical views is fairly clear. Humayun, the Mughul emperor whom he unseated, had no doubts about his capacities as he admitted to Khalifa, his minister when he remarked "keep an eye on Sher Khan (as he was then called): he is a clever man, and the marks of royalty are visible on his forehead".(1) "It was India's misfortune however that Sher Shah did not, as he himself once exclaimed when observing his gray hairs in the mirror, ascend the throne until the time of evening prayer".(2)

But although the Afghan ruler's sovereignty was late in his life and lasted only for a very limited period, he appears at all times to have been a man of marked constructional propensities and architectural ideals, which he maintained until the end. For it is recorded that with his dying breath he regretted that he would be unable to erect certain buildings which he specifies "with such architectural embellishments, that friend and foe might render their tribute of applause". It is clear that the artistic spirit was very much alive in Sher Shah's mental make-up and was exercised at time of great significance with the result that the continuity of the building art and the elegance of its character were consistently maintained.

We now approach the third division of our subject, that in which Sher Shah's architectural ideals were materialized. This ruler's buildings are in two distinct and separate groups, and produced two different results. It may be as well to take up first those buildings of his reign which are at or in the neighbourhood of Sasaram in Bihar, as here it was he began his initial authority in his capacity as Governor of this region. Here also he was brought to repose at the end of his strenuous career, for his remains are

(1) *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, Elliot Vol. IV, p. 331.

(2) *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 57.

enshrined in one of the most magnificent mausoleums in the whole of India. Sher Shah's tomb at Sasaram is the largest and finest of a series of five of these buildings all of marked architectural character, and most of which were no doubt erected during his lifetime, their mean date being A.D. 1540. All are large monuments, octagonal in plan and clearly evolved from the same type of tomb which had been developed under the Sayyids and Lodis at Delhi. But these tombs at Sasaram represent the final flowering of that style, and it is a florescence of notable size and splendour ; so much so that the principal example, that containing the remains of Sher Shah Sur himself, is an architectural production of which any country might be proud. Although the supreme achievement of the series, a description of this tomb applies in a modified degree to the architectural character of the remainder, which are all of much the same general appearance.

One of the main features of the mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sasaram is that it has the almost unique position of occupying the centre of a large artificial sheet of water. Such an unusual scheme adds very considerably to its romantic and monumental effect. Standing in the midst of the lake on a square terraced foundation connected with the "mainland" by an elegant, although ruined, causeway, it raises up into four stories, the lowest square in plan, those above octagonal, the highest being surmounted by a low but graceful dome. Its dimensions are considerable as the terraced foundation is three hundred feet side and the total height is about two hundred feet, while the tank in which it stands is fourteen hundred feet in length. But it is the architectural treatment of the main structure which proves beyond doubt that the conception is the work of an experienced master-mind. In devising the building as a whole in a grand pyramidal shape of diminishing stories, its designer showed a noteworthy knowledge of the value of form and volume, of finely adjusted bulk, of mass in repose, all of which go towards making it a composition of great dignity and power. Then over and above this total formation much skill has been expended on the application and pattern of the architectural details which break up the mass of the building with admirable effect, the domed octagonal pavilions at each corner, the projecting oriel-balconies carried on heavy brackets, the wide eaves surmounted by crenellated parapets, all these and many other constructive embellishments are most admirably distributed over the building. The interior consists of one large vaulted hall, octagonal in shape and surrounded by an arcade of arches ; this portion is rather bare and plain and it is possible may be unfinished.

As the tomb building now appears it presents a grey and sombre effect, but such was not the original intention. When first constructed its walls displayed designs of glowing colour executed in faience, and the dome was set brilliantly white against the blue sky. Traces of this glazed decoration still remain, fine bold borders of blues, reds, and yellows, in keeping with the grand scale of the monument itself. Few of those who see Sher Shah's tomb at Sasaram, and I fear they are but few, as the tide of humanity has drifted away from its environment, and it now stands isolated

and remote, can fail to be impressed by this great architectural conception, a work of vision and idealism, as well as a building achievement of remarkable intellectual power.

But in addition to its own individual qualities, this monument, and the others of its series at Sasaram, possess no little historical significance. They mark the finale of that effort at expressive tomb building which is illustrated by many examples in the ruins of old Delhi. And it is an irony of fate that the finest instances of this architectural tradition fostered towards its end by the dynasties of the Sayyids and Lodis, the last of the Delhi Sultanate, should be produced by a relatively alien sovereign in the distant region of Bihar. The Sasaram tombs therefore are an end in themselves, they do not lead on to further developments, but stand alone, a notable termination to a long continued imperial style.

Let us now direct our attention to the other phase of the building art of Sher Shah Suri which emerged at Delhi when this ruler found himself seated on the throne of the Moslem capital after his provincial experiences in the Lower Provinces. One of his first object was to found a city, of which only the citadel, and some of the gates have survived. The citadel, now known as the "Purana Quila" or Old Fort is one of the most picturesque relics of the ancient capital, its rugged but effective walls contrasting with its dressed sandstone gates producing a romantic and artistic effect. The gates themselves, especially the main entrance, are fine examples of military architecture treated in an artistic manner, and no doubt the whole of the interior of the citadel enclosure was filled with palace buildings of a similar character. But, alas, all these courts and pavilions have been swept away, most probably by the Mughul emperor Humayun when he again ascended the throne, the only building of any account now remaining being a mosque, the Quila-i-Kuhna, no doubt Sher Shah Suri's Chapel Royal when he resided in his palaces within the citadel he had built. Humayun spared this mosque as it was sacrosanct, and it is not only a very beautiful little building but it is a key to the continuity of the style.

I have said that in the period previous to the Suri ascendancy no great structures such as mosques had been produced and that the buildings generally were of no special significance. But one or two relatively small mosques were erected at Delhi which, although nothing very great in themselves, are pointers to the subsequent development of the style. Such are the mosque attached to the Bara Gumbad dated 1495, the Moth ki Masjid c. 1505, and the Jamala Masjid 1536. The Quila-i-Kuhna-Masjid, Sher Shah's Chapel Royal was built about 1550, and represents a crystallization of the forms and experiences seen in this series of small mosque structures. In the latest of these, the Jamala Masjid, built some fifteen years previously, we see "in the rough", so to speak, all the arrangements and details which appear in such a finished and refined shape in Sher Shah's production. Each architectural feature crudely fashioned in the Jamala mosque has been improved and amplified in order to fit it for its place in the more perfected creation of the Quila-i-Kuhna.

Sher Shah's mosque is not at all a large building, its facade is barely 170 feet in width, but it presents a front elevation of marked beauty. In addition to the arcade of five archways of excellent proportions there is an elegant scheme of colouring, for its sandstone basis is enriched with insets of white marble and there are also patterns in variegated inlay. A number of its features are of a historically traditional character, as for instance the narrow turrets on each side of the central rectangular bay, the fluted mouldings of which are derived from the stellate flanges of the famous Qutb Minar, while a similar pair on the back wall illustrate the unmistakeable taper or slope, of the buildings of the Tughluq dynasty. Contrasting with these elements of the past is also a certain feature of the future as there is a slight drop, or flatness, in the curve of the arch towards the crown, marking the last stage before this shape of archway assumed the true four-centred Tudor arch of the Mughuls.

The design and execution of the interior of this mosque is of an equally high order, the effective arrangement of its five bays reproducing the elegance of the five arches of the facade. The trained assurance of its builders is well expressed in the various systems exploited in the structure of the roof. Here three different methods of what are technically known as the "phase of transition" in the angle support of the ceiling domes have been employed; in the centre is the squinch, in the next bay a form of stalactite extremely rare, and in the end compartment is a cross rib and semi-vault of unusual design, evidently experimental. But the whole of this structure is pregnant with ideas, some of the past, others original, and still more in the nature of a trial, so that few buildings contain so many elements of tradition or promises of development. And above all it is supreme in the quality of its artistic treatment and intensely living in its architectonics, a composition well worthy of close and scientific study. There are other productions of the time of Sher Shah Sur, including a massive fortress which this ruler caused to be built at Rohtas near the town of Jhelum in the Punjab, in which the powerfulness of a stable stronghold and the excellent architectural taste of his period are most skilfully combined. But as already indicated the Quila-i-Kuhna in the Purana Qila contains the germs of the movement expressed in the most artistic terms.

As to the link that the above building at Delhi supplied connecting the monuments of the Sultanate with those which evolved later under the Mughuls, some idea of this has been already implied. That the Quila-i-Kuhna provides the key building in the development of the style has also been indicated, but it should be realized that within the walled enclosure of the Purana Qila in addition to the mosque there was undoubtedly a concentration of secular buildings, palaces and courts, durbar halls and pavilions, for the accommodation of Sher Shah and his royal entourage which have been entirely swept away. That these were buildings of notable architectural merit is proved not only by the character of the mosque, but by the exceptionally fine treatment of the gateways to the citadel, as for instance the Bara Darwaza or main entrance in the middle of the western wall, and there can be little doubt that the palaces within were of the same high standard. It was from

this group of buildings produced under the enlightened and enthusiastic regime of Sher Shah that the Mughul emperor Akbar obtained the spirit and incentive as well as many of the distinctive qualities of his own productions, such as those displayed in the fort at Agra and later in his palaces at Fatehpur Sikri. Other and more distant modes of building, the experiences of some of the provincial schools, were obviously laid under contribution to provide artistic material for these vast undertakings of the Great Mughul, but the basis of Akbar's architectural creations was undoubtedly the style maintained by the master-masons of Delhi under the intelligent patronage of Sher Shah Sur.

PERCY BROWN.

The Failure of Tipu Sultan.

OUT of the horrors of war and reckless carnage, which disfigure the history of Southern India in the 18th century, emerges the vision of Tipu Sultan in tragic sublimity. A fearless warrior, an indefatigable worker, a man of cultured tastes, he possessed in an eminent degree the qualities that go to make an able ruler and a distinguished administrator. He had inherited extensive territories and a replenished treasury. He managed, however, to maintain a large army and also a navy of sorts. But he was surrounded on all sides by envious neighbours who dreaded him and his great power. He was thus continually at war and hardly got an opportunity to consolidate his own position. When he ascended the throne on the death of his father in 1782, his kingdom was actually involved in war with the English. After two years' hard fighting the war ended in his triumph in 1784. During 1786-7, he was again confronted with the combined armies of the Mahrattas and the Nizam. Three years later he was once again called upon to face the formidable confederacy of the English, the Nizam and the Peshwa which cost him half his dominions and three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees as indemnity. This hard knock broke his backbone, so to say, and enabled Wellesley to extinguish him in the course of a two months' campaign in 1799. Tipu died the glorious death of a soldier in the field of battle.

The war which was most disastrous to Tipu's power is popularly known as the Third Mysore War. It started in December, 1789, with an attack by Tipu on the Travancore Lines and lasted till February, 1792. A study of these events will enable us to ascertain the cause of his downfall.

After capturing the Travancore Lines Tipu remained in Coimbatore trying to persuade the authorities at Madras that he entertained no ill-will towards the English. But Lord Cornwallis had already directed General Medows, the Governor of Madras, to commence hostilities against him. When Tipu was at last convinced that the English viewed his overtures with suspicion he left Coimbatore for Seringapatam in order to make preparations for the coming struggle. General Medows proceeded towards Coimbatore and on his way captured several posts in that district including Dindigul and Palghat. Col. Floyd occupied Satyamangalam; but in spite of the natural barriers of mountain and water, Tipu came upon him so suddenly that he had to evacuate the fort and retreat with heavy losses. The English forces returned to Coimbatore and Tipu after pursuing them some distance changed his tactics and marched southwards taking Daraporam, Erode and other strategic positions. An English division which was proceeding to invade Barahmahal and surprise Kistnagiri was foiled in the attempt. Tipu's excellent intelligence service had apprised him of the enemy's intention and

with amazing rapidity he checkmated them. Hearing that Meadows was hastening to the aid of the English he withdrew his troops with equal alacrity to the Coromandel Coast and entirely reduced the countryside and penetrated into the heart of the English territory. Fortune was less kind to him in the western districts where he lost Cannanore. Thus ended the first stage of the war completely establishing Tipu's superiority in arms. He thus proved himself to be a skilful general, a strategist and tactician of the first order. The rapidity of his movements testified to his boundless energy and confounded his enemies.

The arrival of Lord Cornwallis in December, 1790, to conduct the campaign personally marks the second stage of the war. His presence instilled fresh vigour in the ranks of the British army. The allies—the Mahrattas and the Nizam—who had been lukewarm so far stirred themselves into activity. Cornwallis was bent upon prosecuting the war to a vigorous finish. It must not be supposed that he underestimated the prowess of his adversary. However he openly declared that in this war he had everything to lose and nothing to gain and would be for ever disgraced if Tipu beat him (1).

Cornwallis assumed command of the British forces at Vellore near Vellore and made straight for Bangalore. He did not meet with any resistance till he reached Bangalore and laid siege to it.

When the assault was made Tipu's garrison put up a stubborn fight and did not surrender till their gallant commandant, Bahadur Khan, fell fighting. Cornwallis was so greatly impressed by his gallantry that he at once took charge of his dead body, preserved it in a coffin and offered to send it to Tipu for burial with due honour. Tipu was filled with admiration for his lordship's chivalrous gesture and despatched on the same day the following letter from his camp :

'I am in receipt of your lordship's friendly letter saying that Bahadur Khan had performed every act of bravery and courage, loyalty and fidelity and had at length laid down his life in my service. Befitting your own high rank and station you had caused the body of Bahadur Khan to be preserved in a coffin. If I so wished, you would send it to my camp or else, I might depute some people from here to bury it at Bangalore. This act of yours has convinced me of the perfectly noble qualities of your lordship. Doubtless, it is incumbent on great Chiefs to pay particular attention to matters of this nature. I therefore request that since there are Muhammadans in Bangalore who are acquainted with the funeral rites that have to be performed, the body may be handed to them with directions to bury it, in one of the shrines sacred to the memory of the saints. Dated the 23rd March, 1791 (2)!

The next objective after Bangalore was Seringapatam. Tipu's capital, towards which Cornwallis now decided to advance. On the way he was

(1) Cornwallis' Correspondence, Ed., Ross, Vol II, page 52

(2) I. R. D., Original Persian Letter Received, 23 March, 1791, No. 78.

joined by the Nizam's forces under Raja Tejwant. Success seemed within his grasp ; but Tipu's cavalry so effectively cut off his communications and his supplies that he had to beat a hasty retreat to Bangalore.

Early in the following year (1792) Cornwallis once again set out for Seringapatam accompanied by the Nizam's forces. The lessons of the last campaign were not lost on him and this time he took every precaution to keep his communications open. The Mahratta and the Bombay armies were then operating in the west so successfully that when Cornwallis moved towards Seringapatam Tipu was like a person entrapped without the least hope of being rescued. He avoided the fatal blow by immediately seeking for peace. The victorious allies dictated their own terms. He was forced to part with half of his dominions, pay three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees as indemnity and surrendered two of his sons as hostages.

It will be seen that Tipu held his own against his adversaries, the English, during the first two years of the war in spite of the fact that he had just emerged from a conflict with the Mahrattas and the Nizam. He had beaten Meadows and confounded Cornwallis. It was not until the Mahrattas and the Nizam had entered the arena that the Mysore Tiger was brought to bay. The cause of his ultimate failure has therefore to be sought for in quarters other than the field of battle.

Far and away from the theatres of war, diplomatic agents at Poona and Huderabad were briskly canvassing for support for one side or another. Every argument, every inducement was employed by them. Cornwallis was ably served in both the courts by men who eventually carried their point. On the 29th December, 1789, Tipu attacked the Travancore Lines and on the 8th February, 1790, Charles Malet, the English Resident at Poona, communicated to Cornwallis with 'patriotic delight' that the Peshwa's government had declared its readiness to side with the English against Tipu.⁽³⁾ On the 6th June a treaty was executed formally between the parties by which the terms of mutual co-operation were fixed. While Malet was thus engaged at Poona, Sir John Kennaway, the Resident at Hyderabad, induced the Nizam to join this alliance of the three powers—the English, the Nizam and the Mahrattas.

The formation of this confederacy was a great triumph for Cornwallis as it meant the bringing together of mutually hostile parties into the same camp. The Maharattas and the Nizam were jealous of each other and viewed their mutual activities with profound suspicion. But the dread of Tipu provided the meeting ground and hatred of the common foe held the alliance together. No wonder that they fell out as soon as the danger was removed.

It reflects great credit to the diplomatic skill of Malet that he succeeded in inducing the Peshwa's government first to join the alliance and then to participate actively in the war, for Nana Farnavis, who directed the affairs of the Peshwa's government, was the most difficult person for negotiation. His tactics consisted in evasion and procrastination. He would keep half a dozen ambassadors hanging around him at Poona without giving a definite

(3) Poona Residency Correspondence, Volume III, page 69.

reply to the point at issue. He believed that with the passage of time every question would solve itself. Nana was intrigued when the English proposed the alliance, but he would have prolonged the negotiations as was his wont, had not Tipu already taken the field. The Nizam was conspiring with the English and in case they united firmly there would be an end to his dreams of ultimately subjugating the Nizam. He therefore gave his consent to the conclusion of the treaty which was soon executed and ratified in due form. How anxious Lord Cornwallis was to form this alliance and what importance he attached to it may be gathered from the compliments he bestowed on Malet on the successful conclusion of the negotiations when he said that he was 'personally obliged' to the Resident and would recommend him for 'some distinguished mark of approbation from the Court of Directors' (4).

Again, in his letter to Kennaway he thus expressed himself: 'Without the co-operation of the Mahrattas I could not flatter myself with a certain prospect of a speedy conclusion as well as the decided success of the war, two events which are absolutely necessary to save the government and indeed the English Company's affairs from the greatest possible distress; besides that if they had not taken part with us there would always have been reason to apprehend that their jealousy of our getting the Nizam out of their hands might in the course of the contest have been inclined them to take part against us' (5).

The negotiations with the Nizam presented a peculiar difficulty. He hated and feared Tipu and was only too eager for an alliance with the English. Cornwallis offered him the hand of fellowship. He would fain have grasped it but shrank back on learning that the Mahrattas were also to join the confederacy. The Nizam knew that Nana Farnavis had designed on him and suspected that he had joined the confederacy to mobilize his armies and march them up to the frontiers of Hyderabad and during his absence from his dominions, the Mahratta hordes might overrun his country. And he had good ground for entertaining such suspicion. Only three years ago when the combined armies of the Nizam and the Peshwa were fighting Tipu, Holkar had treacherously raided the Nawab's dominion in collusion with Tipu.(6) The Nizam therefore insisted that a separate article in their treaty must guarantee the integrity of his territories. This was an impossible demand as it was bound to offend Mahratta susceptibilities.

The Nizam's principal object in seeking the alliance with the English was his emancipation from the power of the Mahrattas but Cornwallis' views were confined to the reduction of Tipu's power and speedy termination of the war. It therefore required much coaxing and persuasion to make him subscribe to the treaty already formed with the Peshwa. Not until he had received definite and repeated assurances in private regarding the English assistance in case of Mahratta aggression, did he sign the treaty and join the confederacy.

(4) Poona Residency Correspondence, Volume III, page 174.

(5) *Ibid.*, page 157.

(6) *Ibid.*, pages 259, 266, 268.

While Cornwallis was thus exerting by every means to reconcile the conflicting interests of the Nizam and the Mahrattas, Tipu on his part, was casting about in every direction for help and support. He sent his emissaries to every Court and opened correspondence with each one of them. But he lacked the brilliant advocacy and persuasive eloquence which Cornwallis and his agents employed to such good purpose. And he thus failed to win a single ally.

At the outset of the war, Tipu wrote to General Medows assuring him that he did not intend to fight the English and lamented the misunderstanding that had caused the two powers to mass their troops near the Travancore Lines. To restore mutual confidence he proposed to send a deputy to explain matters. But Cornwallis had already determined to fight to the finish and so the proposals of an amicable settlement met with no response.

Tipu then concentrated on winning over the Mahrattas. He succeeded in enlisting the influential support of the Rasta family to advance his cause. His envoys entered Poona with Luximan Rao Rasta at the head of a stately procession heralded by the boom of guns announcing the capture of the Travancore Lines by Tipu. They brought with them liberal supplies of money and offer of territory.⁽⁷⁾

The negotiations opened in an atmosphere of hopefulness. There was great excitement at Poona. It was even feared that civil strife might break out, if Rasta was not allowed to have his own way. Malet was alarmed. The treaty between the English and the Peshwa, although discussed and approved, had not yet been executed. The enemy's envoys were publicly received. The Mahratta contingent that was to join the English detachment from Bombay according to the plan agreed upon was not yet moving. All these circumstances joined to confirm the suspicions of double-dealing on the part of Nana Farnavis.

Malet was not the man to take all this lying down. He vehemently opposed the public reception of Tipu's envoys and in every meeting with the Peshwa's ministers urged their dismissal, pointing out the incompatibility of their engagements with the English and the continued residence of these envoys at Poona. His labours bore fruit. Nana for once seemed to have made up his mind to join the confederacy and reject the overtures of Tipu. At the same time he was determined to extract from the envoys the money that they had brought with them. This was however no very difficult problem for a man of Nana's resourcefulness. A little coaxing, a little gentle pressure and they yielded up the treasures amounting to 15 lakhs of rupees.

These poor creatures were no match for Nana's cunning. They were so completely subjugated by his dominant personality that they not only failed to achieve their object but also by placing 15 lakhs of rupees in the hands of Nana provided him with funds for equipping an army against their master.

Meantime the war raged fiercely. Disappointed at Poona, Tipu concentrated on detaching the Nizam from the confederacy. He had already

(7) Poona Residency Correspondence, Volume III, pages 133, 138, 159.

been intriguing at Hyderabad but now renewed his efforts with greater zeal. He applied to the Nizam, his generals and ministers in the name of Islam to unite with him 'for the greater strength and glory of the true faith'. To the Nizam he wrote thus: 'The advantages and benefits of unity and harmony among the followers of Islam are certainly exposed to your full view and indeed they cannot remain hidden from your omniscient wisdom. Similarly, the good and evil of the circumstances of other peoples of the present times must be clear to the presence. I am sure that your blessed mind is ever engaged in adopting measures to increase the power of Islam and the splendour of the faith of Muhammad as indeed befits the world of leadership and your good name. You will please suggest the ways and means for affording protection to the honour, life and property of the people who are dependent on Muhammadan chiefs and who in fact constitute a unique trust held for God, the Real Master. It is unnecessary to write more. I have in view only the welfare of the creatures of God and the progress of the firm faith. I have despatched Mahdi Ali Khan to seek the honour of waiting on you and of informing you of the particulars of my sincerity and attachment with a view to removing your displeasure. I hope you will honour me by your letters' (8).

But Mahdi Ali Khan was no diplomat. He simply acted as a courier and impressed nobody. His feeble efforts were easily thwarted by the circumspection of Kennaway, the English Resident at Hyderabad. Far from pressing his mission he failed even to obtain an audience with the Nizam or his minister. But Tipu was in dead earnest. After his letter to the Nizam he wrote one to his wife, Bakhshi Begam. This was rather an unusual step to take, for the ladies of the harem are not supposed to take active part in politics or interest themselves in affairs of State. Tipu was however determined to leave no stone turned. He addressed the Begam in the following terms:

'Your Highness well knows the kindness and favour which out of consideration for the attachment manifested by my late father in the Arcot war, you were pleased to show to us and which has suffered no diminution up to the present moment. I am fully convinced that the foundation of the true religion of Islam derives strength from his Highness, the Nizam and the Muhammadan Chiefs receive support from him. It appears now that owing to the representations of interested persons the mind of His Highness which is bright as the sun is clouded with the dust of displeasure. I hope that you will be pleased to make use of your friendly interposition so that His Highness's gracious favour may be manifested towards me, the enemies of the true religion be overthrown and the troops which are supposed to have been sent to their assistance be recalled. In order to represent these points of ancient and present attachment and show my readiness to conform to His Highness's wishes, Mahdi Ali Khan, who has long since been employed

(8) I. R. D., Original Persian Letter Received, 11 January, 1792, No. 16.

in an ambassadorial capacity to the presence, is deputed to you. He will minutely represent all the circumstances. What more need I say?'(9)

The reports of these intrigues naturally alarmed Cornwallis and he made anxious enquiries about their nature and extent. Kennaway allayed the fears of his lordship by assuring him that the allies could be trusted on this occasion to remain steadfast to their treaty 'from its being in their interest to adhere to it. Besides that it would be difficult for him (Tipu) to hold out objects which they will not obtain in a more complete manner by an honourable and upright conduct. I conceive the security they derive from the treaty against the effects of his future ambition and resentment (effects of which without our support they would have serious reason to be apprehensive of) gives us a hold on them which I can hardly imagine we may not with safety trust to' (10). Kennaway was right. In reply to his impassioned appeals Tipu was coldly referred by the Nizam and his wife to Lord Cornwallis for any negotiations he had to make.

This is not the solitary instance of Tipu's failure in diplomacy, as we have noticed above. In his time he entered into negotiations with all the Indian powers and even made overtures to Afghanistan, Turkey and France. But everywhere he failed. Diplomacy was not his line. Though he penned his letters himself and was the master of an elegant style in persian, and though he watched with a keen eye every detail of his administration, he was essentially a man of the sword, not a diplomat.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

(9) I. R. D., Original Persian Letter Received, 13 August, 1791, No. 379

(10) Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. III, page 464.

Jagabandhu Vidyadhara.

THERE is a plentiful reference to Jagabandhu Vidyadhara in the historical records preserved in the archives of the Commissioner of Orissa at Cuttack and the Commissioner of Chotanagpur at Ranchi.

Bukshee Jugbundoo Bedeadhur, as he is so styled in the records, was the proprietor (zemindar) of Killa Rorung and was one of the most prominent figures in the Cuttack disturbances of 1817. He was proclaimed a rebel in April, 1817, and a reward of Rupees Five Thousand was offered for his person, either dead or alive. Other insurgents were at the same time outlawed. Of these the seizure of Kishunchand Bedeadhur, Dhurmoo Hurrychundun and Meer Hyder Ali was thought to be particularly desirable. Every attempt was made to get information about the retreat where he had been in hiding. Jugbundoo was not only allowed by the Raja of Nyagarh to pass through his territory but was given asylum together with other rebels (1). Robert Ker, Commissioner of Cuttack and Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, Orissa, was in communication with Major Roughsedge Commanding South West Frontier, whose co-operation he sought in ferreting him out. In two letters of July, 1818 he confirmed the information Roughsedge gave about the haunts of Jugbundoo and intimated that Raja Chunder Seekur Deo of Boad had evinced a satisfactory disposition and engaged several Kund (Khond) Zemindars to assist him in seizing the outlaw and his principal assistants. He, however, suspected that some Tributary Hill Rajas who were in league with Jugbundoo (especially the Raja of Goomsur) would rescue him, and the Raja of Boad hesitated to act unless protected by a party of British troops.

Every possible source had been tapped for information that might lead to the discovery of the haunt of the rebel. Brigadier General Thomas, commanding Cuttack, found a Rajput named Bhoop Bharan Singh by whom he was informed that he had been sent by Jagbandoo to solicit military aid from the Mahrattas, but recommended that the Rajput might be pardoned as he had no concern in the rebellion (2). He, however, warned Ker that the man could not be relied on, and asked him to be cautious.

The officer commanding Sambalpur informed Ker with regret that the Raja of Boad who had been supported by a party of sipahis and 150 barkandazes failed to apprehend Jagbundoo and his associates (26th Sept., 1818). A. Stirling sent two prisoners from Sambalpur to the Magistrate of

(1) Major-General Martindell to Melville, Magistrate, Cuttack, 4th February, 1818

(2) To R. Ker, 24th July, 1818.

Cuttack with a view to examining them regarding the whereabouts of the outlaw (5th Oct., 1818).

The Brigadier General communicated to Ker a secret arrangement by which he hoped with the help of the Rajas of Baud and Goomsur, and Bhup Baran Singh, to apprehend Jugbundoo and his associates.

W. B. Bayley, Secretary to Government, wrote to Ker informing him that the Governor General in Council entertained little hope of the early apprehension of Jugbundoo and was persuaded that the tranquillity of Kurda could not be considered to be permanently secure so long as he remained at large and asked the Commissioner to suggest specific terms which might be offered to the rebel to induce him to make a voluntary surrender. Ker suggested the offer of free pardon to the man (20th and 23rd October, Ranchi and Cuttack Records).

The rebel Dinabandhu Santra and his party surrendered and were granted pardon (9th Nov. 1818).

In a letter dated 9th November, 1818 Forrester, Jt. Magistrate and Dy. Collector, Khurda, reported on the state of Khurda and the measures he had adopted in restoring tranquillity and he suggested the offer of pardon to Jagbundoo and the Dewan, and grant of an allowance of Rs. 300/- and 100/- respectively. A proposal was also made for declaring a general amnesty in which rebel Madhusudan Santra and his followers were included (14th and 22nd. Dec., 1818).

In a letter dated 15th January, 1819 the Brigadier General informed Ker that his attempt to induce the Zemindar of Goomsur to surrender Jagbundoo had failed. The Brigadier made an attack on the party of Jugbundoo, but he escaped. He informed Ker that amongst the prisoners taken with Baksey's baggage there was a person named Jagennath Ray who declared that the Baksey, his master, had fled by Noaghur into Baud and would take his refuge in Sambalpur (14th July, 1819). On 29th October, 1819 he informed Ker that that he had secured the persons of the wife and family of Jugbundoo with all valuables and also the wife and family of Pandab Patnaik, all of whom he had sent to Mr. Forrester under escort.

A reward of Rs. 1,000/- was offered for the apprehension of Pitabas Mungraj and his associates.

It was ordered that Radhamani Juna Dey, and Chaturmoni Juna Dey, the elder and younger wives, and Gopenauth Bedeadhur the son, of Jugbundoo, with others were to be placed under personal restraint at the fort of Barabattee, to be dealt with under orders of Governor General in Council according to the provisions of Regulation III of 1818 (21st July, 1820). This was done on the recommendation of A. Stirling, the Commissioner, who wanted them to be treated as state prisoners till further report was obtained for order of their release. In a letter dated 12th August, 1820 he recommended their release.

Reports were received of atrocities being committed by the Baksey and his men on the Banpur frontier (21st Feb., 1821).

In a letter dated 22nd June, 1822 the Commissioner submitted to Government a proposal regarding the surrender of Jugbundoo Bideadhur and his Dewan, Kishen Chandra Bhowrur (who headed the Cuttack insurrection) on promise of pardon, and forwarded for His Excellency's consideration a memoir on the subject prepared by Mr. Stirling. In November, 1822 the Commissioner communicated to the Joint Magistrate of Khoorda the order of Government that the Bakshi and his Dewan would receive full pardon if they surrendered within two months of the specified date, his estate would be forfeited to Government, and an allowance of Rs. 100/- was to be granted to the Bakshi and Rs. 50/- to the Dewan for maintenance.

This conditional offer of pardon did not produce favourable impression on the rebels and they still held out. Meanwhile the Governor General in Council approved of the measures for confiscating the estates of Jagbundoo and others (4th Sep., 1823). The Joint Magistrate of Khoorda informed the Commissioner that the Bakshi and his Dewan were residing in the state of Raja of Nyagurh, and they received supplies from heads of several villages.

It was reported that the Bakshi was attempting to create disturbances at Khoorda (Cuttack—Russil bundles, 17th Nov., 1824).

In a letter dated 30th May, 1825 the Magistrate of Cuttack submitted proposals to the Commissioner (Mr. Blunt) recommending remission of one year's Peshkush to the Raja of Nyagarh and a payment of Rs. 2,000/- to Barjoo Paikra Bebartia of Nyagarh, and Rs. 1,000/- to Waz Mahommed, Serishtadar, Superintendent, Tributary Mahals, to cause Jugbundoo to surrender.

On the 25th Nov., 1825 he informed T. Pakenham, Commissioner, that Dewan Krishna Chandra Bhramarabara was willing to surrender on the terms offered by Government provided he got a perwana of pardon from the office and requested to be furnished with such a perwana. This was communicated to H. Shakespeare, Secretary to Government in the Judicial Department (3rd Jan., 1826).

On 2nd January, 1826 the Joint Magistrate of Khoordah informed T. Pakenham, Commissioner, that Keshanchand had surrendered on conditions set forth by Government and recommended that his allowance might be increased to Rs. 100/- and reward given to persons who procured his surrender.

Pardon was offered to Jugbundoo on 22nd May, 1826, and he received a pension of Rs. 150/- per month (which was communicated in Mr. Commissioner Blunt's orders of 1st July, 1825).

On 26th January, 1829, R. Hunter, Collector of Cuttack, reported to Pakenham, Commissioner, the demise of Jugbundoo Bedeadhur, leaving two widows and a son Gopeenath Bideadhur, aged 9 years to whom Killa Rorung, the property of his father was restored (28th April, 1829).

KALIPADA MITRA.

Governor Elihu Yale of Fort St. George, Madras, & Yale University.

FEW people are probably aware of the intimate connection that existed between India and one of the oldest Universities of the United States of America. Yale University situated at New Haven, Connecticut is named after Mr. Elihu Yale, the Governor of Fort St. George, Madras, from 1687 to 1692, during a very stormy time in the domestic chronicles of that city. The connection came about in a curiously roundabout manner. The University itself began to take shape in the first year of the 18th century, but was not of large dimensions until the year 1718 when it received a cargo of gifts including besides books, East India goods which were sold in Boston for £562-12-0, and from which date it began its flourishing development. This endowment was bequeathed to the founders of this scholastic enterprise by Elihu Yale, and in gratitude its trustees gave the budding university the name of Yale College, this institution becoming of University status in 1887. A somewhat parallel case is that of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington which was founded in the middle of the last century by the bequest of James Smithson a British chemist and mineralogist, a very important centre of learning in the United States due to the beneficence of an able but slightly eccentric Englishman.

Elihu Yale however had no great scholastic pretensions but on the other hand he was an administrator of some distinction. His interest in America was owing to Boston having been his birthplace, as he was born there about 1650 when his father, Thomas Yale, was on a visit there. Afterwards he came out to India as a Writer in 1672 drawing a salary of five pounds a year. In the course of time his bold enterprise and strong character marked him out for ministerial preferment, and in 1687 he became one of the famous merchant governors of Fort St. George, an appointment which he held for five years. A contemporary of Job Charnock, Yale had the responsibility of entertaining the founder of Calcutta, when he and his staff were deputed to Madras in 1689.

Yale's tenure of office was no sinecure, but some of his troubles were no doubt brought about by his very forthright manner. His relations with the members of his council were far from harmonious, as an extract from one of his letters to them will show. This epistle begins "To the worshipful Council of Fort St. George, I have been thus long silent to your scurrilous paper of the 10th November, as well to conceal your insolent malice, as to silence your turbulencies; but I see such mildness rather emboldens than

calms them, as by your new venomous production, whose audacious falsities and threats provoke me to a plainer answer than I intended". . . .

Such correspondence naturally made enemies, and the very considerable fortune he amassed brought him under suspicion, so that he was attacked accordingly. But time has shown that his wealth was accumulated in the ordinary course of trade, as was permitted to the servants of the Company in those days, and although reported as a man "with a hard heart, and an ungovernable temper", he was not dishonest. That he gave freely is shown by his bequest to the American College, and also by the gift of a large and handsome alms-dish to St. Mary's Church Fort St. George engraved with Yale's coat of arms and an inscription bearing the date 1687. The latter commemorates the death of his small son David, his only child, who to his great grief died that year, and whose tombstone is one of the three of that period in the old cemetery of Madras which escaped destruction in the 18th century.

Yale himself having retired to England lies buried in Wrexham, the tower of the Yale University memorial quadrangle being designed on the lines of that of Wrexham Church as a tribute and monument to its first donor. On the tombstone of Yale in Wrexham churchyard, after recording that he died in 1721, is the following epitaph.

"Born in America, in Europe bred,
In Africa travelled, in Asia wed,
Where long he lived and thrived ; in London dead ;
Much good, some ill, he did ; so hope all's even,
And that his soul through mercy's gone to Heaven.
You that survive, and read this tale, take care
For this most certain exit to prepare ;
Where blest in peace the actions of the just
Smell sweet, and blossom in the silent dust".

It is interesting to think that when the Yale College Yell resounds in the Yale Bowl or on the touchlines of any of America's sports stadiums, that there is a silent and solemn record of this collegiate chorus in a Welsh churchyard, with a still more distant one in the vestry of St. Mary's and in the pathetic little memorial in the old cemetery of Madras.

P. B.

Dr. Walter Kelly Firminger.

ON the 27th of February, 1940, the death took place, at Hampton Court Palace, of the Ven'ble Dr. Walter Kelly Firminger in his 70th year. He had been Chaplain to the King at Hampton Court Palace since 1926. His Funeral Service was performed on Friday the 1st of March 1940, at noon, in the Chapel Royal, Hampton Court Cemetery.

Dr. Firminger was the son of a former Chaplain, the Rev. T. A. C. Firminger, who was on the Indian establishment, and all his life a keen horticulturalist, his book, "A Manual of Gardening for Bengal and Upper India" being a standard work on the subject.

Dr. W. K. Firminger graduated from Menton College, Oxford, but achieved only a third class with honours in the school of Modern History.

After his ordination to the diaconate at Hereford in 1893, Dr. W. K. Firminger went to Mombassa, East Africa, and ordained priest there in 1895, and afterwards to Zanzibar to join the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, and was there ordained subdean in 1896. Here he remained until 1897, when on account of a breakdown in health he was obliged to return to England, when during his stay there he married Miss Eveleen Miles, daughter of Rev. P. E. Miles, Odstock Rectory, Salisbury, "an ideal union of two who seemed made for each other". He did not remain long in England but came to Calcutta in 1899 as junior Chaplain at the Cathedral. He proved himself to be diligent and efficient in his duties as parish priest, being ably seconded by his wife. He was also an enthusiastic Mason of high rank.

In appreciation of his services he was granted the degrees of Bachelor of Divinity (B.D.), and subsequently in 1919 the Doctor of Divinity (D.D.) thus becoming a very notable figure in the ecclesiastical life of Bengal and India generally.

Dr. Firminger succeeded in a very remarkable degree in gaining the confidence and affection of those men, irrespective of caste, creed and colour, whom he happened to be in contact with even for a moment. In 1910 when he was engaged in research work in the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta, the present writer had an opportunity of working with Dr. Firminger for a few months having to assist him in tracing out and copying certain documents from the archives there.

But it was as a historian and a profound research scholar that he deserves to be particularly remembered. He was a most accurate and painstaking investigator and was never weary of placing his wide knowledge—both historical and ecclesiastical—at the disposal of those engaged in any form of research. His self-effacement was such that he seemed to prefer that

others should enjoy the fruit of his labours. The most extraordinarily interesting and important sixteenth century manuscript known as "The Commentary of Father Anthony Montserrate, S.J., on his journey to the Court of Akbar" was discovered by him in 1906, in a heap of worm-eaten and damaged books and manuscripts left uncared for in the Library of St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta. This valuable original Commentary had been previously extracted from the huge mass of insect-devoured books and passed on to the custody of the Cathedral authorities from the Library of Lord Wellesley's College of Fort William, whence it was subsequently transferred to the Calcutta Public Library in Metcalfe Hall. The late Father Hosten's recension of the original Latin text was published in 1914 in the third Vol. of the Memoirs of the Asiatic (now Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. 9, pp. 514—704).

But had the original manuscript not been discovered and saved from the ravages of insects by Dr. Firminger as explained above, the Latin text of it could not have been published, and the loss would have been irreparable.

At the first inaugural meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on the 27th April 1907, which was presided over by the Hon. Sir Francis Maclean, K.C.I.E., the then Chief Justice of Bengal, the Rev. W. K. Firminger was unanimously appointed Honorary Editor of the Society's journal *Bengal : Past & Present*, and he held that office almost continuously until he finally retired from India in 1922.

There can be no question that but for the sustained endeavours of the Rev. W. K. Firminger, as the Hony. Editor of *Bengal : Past & Present*, a position he held for 15 years since its inception, the popularity of the Society and its journal would not have materialized in the manner that it did, while even on his retirement from India he all along evinced an unflagging interest in the Society's journal. Notable contributions from his pen will be found distributed throughout the volumes of *Bengal : Past & Present*. He was one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society and remained so till the last day of his life. The Calcutta Historical Society therefore loses in him a valuable member, the *Bengal : Past & Present* an enthusiastic worker, an erudite contributor, and a staunch supporter. His friends had hoped that the Rev. W. K. Firminger would long be spared to continue his useful and scholarly productions. Yet he has passed away mature in years and with many honours, *Diis aliter visum*, and we are left to deplore the loss of one whose place it will be difficult to fill.

NARENDRANATH GANGULY.

Assistant, Imperial Record Dept.
(on leave)



Editor's Note Book.

THE Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council had been pleased to establish a weekly Dawk between (this) the Bengal Presidency and that of Bombay, which used to be despatched from Calcutta regularly every Monday evening; and His Lordship had also been pleased to direct that, until further orders; the letters of individuals should be received and forwarded free of postage with the Public Dispatch. The Dawk was to proceed via Masulipatam and Poona, and it might be expected to reach Bombay in a month or five weeks.

AT page 177 of the "Memoirs of George Elers" we find the following curious reference to James Balfour of Whittinghame:

James Balfour of Whittinghame. (2) "There was living in 1805 at Madras a civilian named James Balfour. He had been suspended from the service for taking a horse as a present from some of the natives. He got restored and as I had parted with all my horses, he was so kind as to lend me one to ride, and I fed him. The Honorable Basil Cochrane had for many years held the contract for supplying the Navy with meat, provisions, etc., and made a very handsome fortune; but he kept open house for every officer in the Navy from the poor mid to the Post Captain. This must have reduced his means of saving a very large fortune, which he might otherwise have done. My friend James Balfour, soon after I left India got Cochrane's situation. He only held it a very few years; and he had made £300,000, and left a Scotchman by the name MacConnachy to act for him at an allowance of £6,000 a year. Balfour made this enormous fortune in about four years, as he told me. He bought a house in Grosvenor Square, became an M.P. and married (Lady Eleanor Maitland) a daughter of the (eighth) Earl of Lauderdale (and died in 1845). He did not, like Cochrane, keep open house, or, if he did, it was only the doors and windows."

N. G.

(1) Extract from Calcutta Gazette

(2) Ancestor of Earl of Balfour.

Calcutta Historical Society.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

PROCEEDINGS

The Annual General Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held at the Spence's Hotel, Calcutta, on Friday, the 28th June 1940, at 6 P.M. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C.I.E., took the Chair.

The Chairman opened the meeting by proposing a resolution placing on record the profound sorrow of the Society at the death of Rev. W. K. Firminger, one of the founders of the Society and one to whom the Society owed a debt of deep gratitude which it could never repay.

The Resolution adopted all standing in solemn silence.

Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, the Hony. Secretary of the Society, read the following Annual Report for the year 1939:

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR, 1939.

Since the transfer of the Imperial Record Department to New Delhi early in 1936 the Committee of the Calcutta Historical Society has had many difficulties to overcome, particularly in regard to the publication of the journal: "Bengal, Past & Present", which is now issued half-yearly as a double number, instead of a quarterly one. The work of the Society would have been rendered much more difficult had not Major H. Hobbs, our Hony. Treasurer, permitted the Committee to store the records, books and blocks of the Society in his office at No. 9, Old Court House Street, and in his godown in Marquis Street.

As Major Hobbs now requires that accommodation, the Committee will have to look out almost immediately for a suitable place where our records, books, blocks, etc. can be stored free of charge. I may mention here for your information that all the records, books and blocks of the Society are now packed in 34 packing cases.

I am happy to report that the Calcutta Historical Society has now entered into the 34th year of its existence.

During the year under review the membership of the Society numbered 111 as against 122 of the previous year. Although there is an addition of one Life member in the list of members, the decrease in the total is due to the resignation, death and removal of the names of some Ordinary members whose subscriptions had fallen heavily into arrears.

The credit balance at the Mercantile Bank of India Ltd. upto the 31st of December 1939, as will be seen from the Financial Statement drawn up and

submitted by Messrs. Lovelock & Lewis, the Honorary Auditors of the Society, amounts to Rs. 1139-11-8, out of which Rs. 1,000/- belongs to the Fixed Deposit (Genl. Fund). In the Index Fund there is a balance of Rs. 86-9-7 in the Current Account. The Society is indebted to Major H. Hobbs for advancing the sum of Rs. 260/- in order to meet the urgent demand of our Printers which enabled us to leave our Fixed Deposit undisturbed. During the year under report the subscriptions of 24 Ordinary members amounting to Rs. 990/- fell into arrears. Out of this amount Rs. 160/- has been realised. Of the remaining figure a sum of about Rs. 300/- is due from subscribers who are now in England. We have every hope of realising this amount as soon as things settle down a bit. It is earnestly hoped that members of the Committee will use their personal influence, where possible, to realise these arrears, and also try and enlist new members. Unless something is done, and done quickly, it will be extremely difficult for the Editorial Committee to carry on the work of the Society and its Journal.

During the year under review we lost by death two of our distinguished members, Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E., and Mr. Mesroby J. Seth, M.R.A.S.

Sir Evan Cotton was one of the most valued and enthusiastic members of the Society and an unfailing tower of strength to us. His encyclopaedic knowledge of British Indian history enabled him to enrich the pages of "Bengal: Past & Present" and his death is an irreparable loss to the Society.

Mr. Mesroby J. Seth was also a regular contributor to the *Journal* of the Society. His knowledge of Armenian History and the connexion of his fellow countrymen with India was extraordinarily wide. He was one of the oldest members of the Society and a staunch supporter of all its activities.

We deeply mourn their loss.

Prominent among those whose valuable contributions have enabled us to maintain the high standard of our Journal may be mentioned:

Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, C.I.E., Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., Mr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Rao Saheb C. B. Srinivasa-chariar, M.A., Prof. A. K. Nilkanta Sastri, M.A., Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D., Mr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Dr. Bal Krishna, M.A., Ph.D., Dr. Kali Kinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Prof. S. H. Askari, M.A., B.L., Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A., Dr. B. S. Baliga, M.A., Ph.D., Major H. Hobbs, Dr. Baini Prashad, D.Sc., F.Z.S., Mr. Percy Brown, A.R.C.A., Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L. The Committee express their heartfelt thanks to them and hope that they will continue to take the same interest in the Society and its Journal in the future. The special thanks of the Society are due to Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., etc. for kindly taking up the honorary editorship of "Bengal: Past & Present" during the temporary absence of Mr. Percy Brown from India.

Mr. D. C. Ghose proposed and Mr. N. Ganguly seconded the adoption of the Report.

Carried unanimously.

The Hony. Treasurer Major H. Hobbs read the audited accounts for the year 1939 drawn up by the Honorary Auditors Messrs. Lovelock & Lewis.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT:
CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

INDEX FUND.

Statement of Receipts and Payments for the year ended 31st December, 1939.

RECEIPTS				PAYMENTS			
	RS.	AS.	P.		RS.	AS.	P.
<i>To Balance as at 1st January, 1939</i>				<i>By Bank Charges</i>	0	1	0
<i>With Mercantile Bank of</i>				<i>Postages</i>	32	0	0
<i>India, Ltd.</i>				<i>Balance at 31st December,</i>			
<i>On Current Account</i>	103	10	7	<i>1939</i>			
<i>Sale of Index</i>	15	0	0	<i>With Mercantile Bank</i>			
				<i>of India, Ltd.</i>			
				<i>On Current Account</i>	86	9	7
	Rs.	118	10 7		Rs.	118	10 7

Calcutta.
9th May, 1940.

Examined and found correct.
LOVELOCK & LEWES,
Chartered Accountants,
Registered Accountants,
Hony. Auditors.

Khan Bahadur K. M. Asadullah proposed and Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali seconded the adoption of the audited accounts.

Carried unanimously.

Mon. A. Loheraux proposed that in order to give publicity to the Society's activities arrangements should be made for a regular monthly Tiffin at Spence's Hotel, Calcutta, on the first Friday of every month commencing from Friday, the 2nd August 1940. Papers on subjects of historical interest will be read and discussed at these Tiffin meetings. Mr. D. C. Ghose seconded the resolution.

Carried unanimously.

Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali and Mr. N. Ganguly were empowered to arrange for a suitable place for storing the Society's books, blocks and records which are housed in Major Hobbs' godown and at his office at 9, Old Court House Street.

The following office-bearers were elected for the year 1940-41.

<i>Chairman</i>	..	..	Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C.I.E.
<i>Honorary Secretary</i>	..	..	Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A.
<i>Jt. Honorary Secretary</i>	..	..	Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
<i>Editor</i>	..	..	Mr. Percy Brown, A.R.C.A.
<i>Honorary Treasurer</i>	..	..	Major H. Hobbs, V.D.
<i>Honorary Manager</i>	..	..	Mr. N. Ganguly.
<i>Honorary Auditors</i>	..	..	Messrs. Lovelock & Lewis.

With a vote of thanks to the Chair and to Major Hobbs for his hospitality the meeting dissolved at 7-30 P.M.